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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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7 November 1985

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CONGO

REPORT ON NATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY

Brazzaville MWETI in French 22 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Auguste Batantou]

[Text] The board of directors of the Transcongolese Communications Agency (ATC) met Tuesday, 13 August at its headquarters; its president, comrade Francois Bita, and all administrators were present, including the CC secretary in charge of the management of economic activities, comrade Clement Mierassa, who represented the National Management Center (Cenages).

There were 6 matters on the agenda, covering 10 essential points: approval of the minutes of the 9 and 10 January, 1985 special session which counted as the third 1984 session; approval of the minutes of the April 12, 1985 special session; review of the provisional report on activities for the first semester of 1985; a presentation of 1984 accounts; the revised 1985 budget; financial and budgetary measures; the program for dragging Pointe-Noire port; examinations and competitive examinations; housing and an update on passenger transport in Pool.

After reviewing the report on activities for the first 7 months, the board noted that results fell below the forecasts. According to the data in the analysis, this situation is explained by the considerable problems that surfaced in the [Congo-Ocean Railroad]. Problems are due to the large amount of debris on the lines, caused by particularly heavy rainfall during this period. The other reason for the poor results was the CFCO's shortage of locomotives until the arrival of eight Canadian locomotives in May.

The board noted with satisfaction, however, that the situation began to improve in July. As a result, some performances were remarkably good and traffic continues to increase. This is due to the increase in traction units that resulted when the Canadian locomotives were put into circulation.

We might add in passing that better performances are expected when all of the seven other locomotives (French this time), one of which has already been "received" and is being tested for use in the near future, arrive.

The ATC's financial situation, the board concluded, is still precarious. The (revised) budget of 40.450 billion CFA Fr, balanced for the 1985 fiscal year, is still an austerity budget. For this season, the ATC's general management has been given the task of reinforcing budgetary discipline by preparing a study which the board indicated, will take into account directives of the (national) structural adjustment program.

On the question of dragging the Pointe-Noire port, a certain number of measures were drawn up to solve its silting-up problem.

This board of directors meetings was held only 2 days after the inauguration of CFCO's line replacement. It strengthened the new impetus given the agency by the installation of this new line. It is very likely that new reasons for satisfaction will be apparent at the next session. Within the overall national context, the ATC's new progress will contribute to further brightening our country's economic outlook.

9825

CSO: 3419/576

7 November 1985

CONGO

DETAILS ON VETERINARY SCIENCE LAB GIVEN

Brazzaville MWETI in French 22 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Ignace Samba]

[Text] Next 26 October after 15 years of Soviet supervision, the veterinary science laboratory, a product of Soviet-Congolese cooperation, will be officially handed over to the Congolese state. The Congolese managers that have been brought up within the system are in the final "breaking in" stages before an effective, definitive takeover. Created by a June 12, 1970 agreement between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Congo, the veterinary science lab (VSL) was originally staffed by a large number of Soviet researchers. Following an ongoing training of Congolese managers, the Soviet researchers have been progressively replaced.

A product of Soviet-Congolese cooperation, the veterinary laboratory is a zootechnical and agronomic research center. It includes a main center and an annex. The main center, constructed in Brazzaville over a 4.5 hectare area, includes the buildings that house the management's administrative offices, the veterinary departments, the crematorium, garage, storehouses and living quarters.

The center was able to train groups of Congolese researchers during the period that extended from 1976 to 1985. The latter are capable of working in the veterinary, zootechnical and agronomic areas. Dr Vladimir Balabanov, laboratory director, said their know-how will enable them to manage the scientific programs in bacteriologic, epizootologic and artificial insemination research. However, there are not yet any managers really capable of handling the studies of swine plague, newcastle disease and trypanosomiasis. Soviet assistance in this area will therefore still be useful.

It was the laboratory's responsibility to train a national staff: laboratory workers, assistants and researchers. In 1976, there were two at the center. Today, personnel has increased to nine bacteriologists, virologists, bromatologists, zootechniciens and agronomists.

Each year the center sends one laboratory worker to the Soviet Union for professional training. Today, 15 laboratory workers are studying in the USSR in veterinary and zootechnical institutes.

Since 1972, the center's researchers have diagnosed infectious diseases in ranch and state and private farm domestic animals in the nine regions of the country. These have included bovine and ovine tuberculosis, animal dermatophilosis, African swine plague, newcastle disease and trypanosomiasis. These diagnoses have been made primarily in the farms and cooperatives of the Bouenza, Pool, Niari, Lekoumou and Kouilou regions, where husbandry is very developed.

After this long-range study, Dr Vladimir told us, the researchers drew up and proposed to farmers some recommendations for the prevention and fight against these diseases. The laboratory also began artificial insemination in pig and sheep breeding. This study showed it would be possible to generalize the practice in different farms. The researchrs have proposed artificial dilutants that make it possible to keep spermatozoids alive after 3 days.

Research in agronomy was begun in 1976. Studies have been made of native ferns--*stylosanthes gracilis*, elephant grass, Guinea grass, Kingrass Guatemala grass--with emphasis on the nutritional value, planting and conservation methods to be used with these grasses.

Husbandry practices in our country have not yet improved. Worse still, farmers show no interest in the laboratory workers' research to detect diseases afflicting their animals. They scoff at recommendations for the prevention and fight against certain diseases. An enormous educational effort aimed at rural breeders still remains to be done.

In conclusion, for Congolese researchers, this laboratory will be a precious tool in their work to develop animal breeding.

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7 November 1985

DJIBOUTI

BRIEFS

WORK HOURS CHANGE--As from October 1 the working day in the Djibouti civil service is to be split into two, with a break between noon and 3:30 p.m. The previous practice was to have no break. This apparently innocuous modification will, if it is applied effectively, prevent state employees from taking on second jobs during the afternoon. Many private employers have been complaining of the unfair competition which they were facing from civil servants. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 4]

OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT--A draft presidential decree makes the head of the president's office, Ismael Omar Guelleh, chairman of the council of administration of the People's Palace. His appointment enables the presidency to control the country's main forum for public expression. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 8]

IDENTITY CARDS HITCH--The authorities in Djibouti have suspended their operation of issuing new identity cards which began on July 1 (See I.O.N. N°190). It appears they have been overwhelmed by a flood of applications much greater than they anticipated. The reason is the large numbers of identity documents which have been issued fraudulently or without authorisation in the past few years. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 5]

FISHING PROJECT--The International Economic Development Fund granted a loan of 1.1 million dollars on September 27 to the Djibouti government for financing the second phase of a pilot scheme for developing the fishing industry, including the purchase of 30 new trawlers. A market survey indicates that the total fish catch could thereby reach around 1,200 tonnes by the year 1990. The volume of fish taken has already tripled since 1980, the year the project was begun. The annual income per head of the country's fishermen is also forecast to reach 400 dollars, as against 285 at present. The Djibouti government's contribution to financing the scheme totals 330,000 dollars. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 6]

CSO: 3400/197

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

BRIEFS

SPANISH AIRLINE SUSPENDS FLIGHTS--The Iberia company suspended its twice-weekly flight from Madrid to Malabo between 12th and 23rd July pending renovation of the Malabo airport fire station. A spokesman for the company said that the decision was taken in view of the lack of actions by the Guinean authorities, who had confirmed that work on the station would be completed by the 23rd. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Sep 85 p 26]

CSO: 3400/187

ETHIOPIA

MENGISTU'S ADEN TRIP EXAMINED

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam visited South Yemen from September 22 to 23 and had talks with president Ali Nasser Mohamed on international and bilateral questions. The visit of the Ethiopian head of state returned that of president Nasser to Ethiopia last February 28. More recently, on August 3, Addis Ababa played host to South Yemeni foreign minister Abdul Aziz Al-Dalli.

I.O.N.--No details have emerged concerning any of these visits. However, two questions must have been high on the agenda of the accompanying talks:

First would be the position of each of the three signatories, Ethiopia, South Yemen and Libya, to the April 1981 "friendship, co-operation and mutual defence" treaty following the improved relations Tripoli now enjoys with both Khartoum and Mogadishu. The presence in the Libyan capital of Fisseha Desta, the third-ranking leader of the Ethiopian regime for the September 1st celebrations of the anniversary of colonel Muammar Kadhafi's revolution indicates that relations between the two countries are now somewhat warmer. The Ethiopian Herald newspaper quoted remarks by colonel Kadhafi about Libya's desire to strengthen its alliance with Ethiopia.

The talks between Addis Ababa and Aden also probably covered the result of the visit to South Yemen last May of a delegation from the Eritrean People's Liberation Front led by its secretary-general Ramadhan Mohamed Nur, as one of the contacts with "hostile countries" which the EPLF central committee stressed a year ago should be made.

CSO: 3400/197

ETHIOPIA

EPLF EXPLAINS WHY TALKS FAILED

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 4

[Text] The Eritrean People's Liberation Front revealed on September 24 the reasons for the breakdown of direct talks with the Ethiopian government. The existence of these talks was admitted for the first time by EPLF secretary-general Ramadhan Mohamed Nur in an exclusive interview with THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER two weeks ago.

According to Andebrhan W. Giorgis, responsible for information in the EPLF's foreign relations bureau, ten meetings, described as "preliminary conversations before the opening of negotiations on peace," took place between September 1982 and April 1985 in a number of west European cities chosen by mutual agreement.

Mr Andebrhan said there were two reasons why the talks were abandoned: on the one hand, he accused the Ethiopians of lacking seriousness, as shown by inconsistencies in their proposals for a settlement which varied from one meeting to the next, without going beyond a form of regional autonomy. The EPLF, for its part, stuck to its proposition for a referendum which it first put forward in 1980, giving the population of Eritrea the choice between full integration with Ethiopia, a federal arrangement, or independence.

The EPLF's other complaint was the alleged deliberate leaking of information of which it claims to have formal proof, when both sides had pledged to keep their talks entirely secret. For this reason the front laid down two conditions for continuing the search for peace: the presence at all future meetings of a foreign observer designated by mutual agreement and the public announcement that negotiations had begun while still keeping their content secret. The EPLF had already suggested these conditions when the first meetings took place three years ago but they were rejected at the time by the Ethiopians along with a third proposal that all conversations should be taped. The EPLF attributes this attitude to an Ethiopian refusal to allow the Eritrean problem to be viewed as an international issue, when for Addis Ababa it is a strictly domestic matter.

I.O.N.--So far Ethiopia has neither confirmed nor denied the statements of the EPLF. It is unlikely that it will do either after the recapture at the end of August of the Eritrean towns of Barentu and Tessenei (see I.O.N. N°195) after the EPLF withdrew in the face of large numbers of opposing forces. The establishment on September 12 of a government commission with the task of drawing up a new constitution could mean that the Derg will be seeking without further ado to settle the question of Ethiopia's various peoples and implement a notion of regional autonomy which, in the case of Eritrea, could involve a carve-up of the region on ethnic lines. This "solution" is totally removed from the claims of Eritrean nationalism.

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ETHIOPIA

'NIGRIZIA' CLAIMS TREATY BETRAYS ERITREANS

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 5 Oct 85 p 3

[Text] The Rome government means to hand over to Ethiopia 19 former Italian properties in Eritrea which were already given to the indigenous population under the 1947 peace treaty and a United Nations resolution of 1950. The disclosure was made in the September issue of the magazine Nigrizia, which is published by the Combonian missionaries of Verona, an order which has a great deal of knowledge of African matters. The periodical said the measure appears in draft law 2188 which will soon be submitted to the Italian parliament and which concerns the ratification of a treaty concluded more than three years ago between Italy and Ethiopia. Nigrizia said an accompanying note gives the view that ratification could "help Ethiopia to turn towards the West, which for our allies would be an important contribution from Italy towards achieving an objective which is assuredly most important for the western world." The magazine commented that Italy was thus "betraying the Eritreans" and demanded that Rome bring up the Eritrean question again at the United Nations.

I.O.N.--As our last issue said in connection with Italian prime minister Bettino Craxi's visit to Somalia, relations between Italy and Ethiopia are the subject of fierce and continual argument between the Christian Democrats and other political parties. The intervention of a highly-respected religious order marks a new stage in the debate.

CSO: 3400/197

ETHIOPIA

BRIEFS

CONTRACTS FOR PROJECTS--The British Sulphur Corporation has been chosen by the National Corporation of Addis Ababa to conduct a feasibility study on the manufacture in Ethiopia of sulphuric acid, aluminum sulphate and sodium. The same company has also been engaged by the Industrial Projects Service of Addis Ababa to draw up a project for a fertiliser plant. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 7]

CANADIAN AID--The Canadian company Associated Engineering Services, has been awarded the contract for water supply systems for the towns of Moyale in southern Ethiopia, Jimma in the southwest and Dire-Dawa in the east, at a total cost of 17.4 million United States dollars. The African Development Bank will contribute 15 million dollars to the financing of these projects. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 7]

CUBA PACT--A trade agreement covering the 1985-86 period was signed between Cuba and Ethiopia on September 19. Under the accord Cuba will sell to Ethiopia pharmaceutical products, spare parts and agricultural tools. Ethiopia will export to Cuba agricultural products and a number of manufactured goods. The agreement was signed at the end of a visit to Ethiopia by the Cuban minister for foreign trade, Ricardo Cabrisas Ruiz. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 7]

CSO: 3400/197

GHANA

REVOLUTIONARY FERVOR REPLACED BY TOLERANCE, ECONOMIC EMPHASIS

London TALKING DRUMS in English 30 Sep 85 p 13

[Article by Kofi Andoh]

[Text]

The revolution came to Ghana fully clothed in fire-eating slogans. Then, as all indications bore out, the establishment of a just and equitable distribution of national wealth and a revamping of an economy then set high on the road to disaster were not to be compromised under any circumstance whatsoever. So it was, that the crude justice meted out to economic saboteurs was seen as a binding duty to instil probity, accountability and patriotism into Ghanaians in order to achieve the ideals and goals of the revolution.

Today, however, the initial fervour and fire-eating stance of the revolution have been replaced by a far more tolerant philosophy which abhors violence, places more emphasis on economic survival and attempts to mend relations made sour by the initial excesses of the revolution.

In spite of this, some unanswered questions arising from the rigid, and in some cases ill-intentioned aims of the revolution persist and are occasionally compounded by events of the kind that mirror certain inconsistencies and contradictions in the aims, aspirations and goals of the revolution itself and government in general.

No doubt, the revolution was well-intentioned from the beginning and most of the decisions and actions were borne out of pure convictions and sincere commitment to the well-being of Ghana. But as events later proved,

Rawlings became increasingly aware of the fact that being at the helm of affairs of a restive nation is clearly a different kettle of fish compared to the booting out of those whose rule he had discredited.

If he had intended his "power to the masses" to be taken for what it connoted in the practice he suddenly came to grips with the realities of the great strength of conservative spirit in the country. As such his initial socialist airs have been interpreted in the context of his attempt to keep his desire for change. It is to his credit, however, that he has realised the dangers in arbitrary decisions, no matter how seemingly worthwhile.

Could it then rightly be said that Rawlings' revolution which has since December 31, 1981, taken its heavy toll of Ghanaian citizens been a blessing for Ghana? Not really. There certainly are flaws and perhaps there might be possible future unpleasant consequences for the Ghanaian nation.

Rawlings came to power determined to give Ghanaians a new lease of life.

In line with this, he began his house-cleaning, which was more in keeping with his initial militant and socialist ideals of a new Ghana, totally devoid of 'exploitation of the masses' and those other practices of 'chopping Ghana small'. His successes and achievements in this respect endeared him to the masses, to the extent that it

signified the beginning of the march to the Promised Land.

Now, even to those who measure progress and development in terms of the seasonal availability of foodstuff and other essential commodities on the market, it is becoming increasingly disarming trying to bridge the gap between prices and incomes. An unprecedented high rate of taxes on commercial activities, bureaucracy and transportation costs have had the effect of overburdening the consumer.

In the context of the revolution's declared aims, how does one explain the commercial exploitation of human suffering in the country by a government which refuses to acknowledge the fact that in a dislocated economy like Ghana's the incidence of taxation is always bound to fall on the poor consumer? How does one explain the phenomenal increases in hospital fees?

How are we to be made to believe that the finer and nobler aims of the December 31 revolution have not been replaced by a far more insensitive attitude which places more emphasis on how much it could extract from the citizens by way of taxation? How are we to be made to believe that the colossus that goes under the name 'Economic Recovery Programme' is not one huge attempt to deprive the ordinary citizen of his right to all good things in life? All these are worrisome questions indeed.

It is one of the unfortunate ironies of contemporary Third World governments that their moral and revolutionary preachments are, at times, at serious odds with the whole essence of government. Good and popular governments have been illusory and unattainable and Africa's development has not been helped in the least by the lack of continuity and unviability of the democratic processes on the continent.

Power has meant everything in the political life of the continent and since the pinnacle would never be spacious enough for two people, Africa has deteriorated to the extent that it is now one huge elephant standing on a feet of clay. And almost invariably the major determinant for the attainment of power had been the gun, a classical example of power flowing through the barrel of the gun.

Is it not a sign of the times that the poor peasants of the traditional African society and Ghanaian particularly, should continually be fed overdoses of empty rhetoric, promises and hopes, when it is one great effort trying to keep body and soul together? The answer seems rooted in the contradictions inherent in an abstract phenomenon (the preponderance of the military in government) which tends to divorce man's human worth and value from his physical being. As has become the case, it is becoming increasingly difficult trying to fashion a model for assessing the achievements of African governments.

In reality, such political and economic abstractions and the promises of good times ahead when Ghana will actually become the 'Black Star of Africa' might have their import in a society chastised by its own political and economic clumsiness. But as long as these aspirations become abstractions their implicit hope for the average Ghanaian are bound to succumb to the harsh realities in a society of survivalism.

Indeed, the political and economic woes created by the Rawlings' phenomenon go beyond the scope of the hardships themselves. Rather, they appear well steeped in those aspects of government which view power as the ultimate in any society. If that is the case, then how unfortunate for a country that has had more than its fair share of irresponsible governments.

IVORY COAST

HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY PRESS CONFERENCE

AB141036 Abidjan Domestic Service in French 1000 GMT 14 Oct 85

[Press Conference by Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny with the national and international press at the Hotel Ivoire in Abidjan on 14 October--live]

[Text] [Houphouet-Boigny] Ladies, gentlemen, and journalists, in very simple terms but terms which come from the heart, Minister Amadou Thiam--on behalf of the government--has just addressed to you my warm thanks for having accepted to come in great number to assist this press conference, held in a small country and by a small man leading a small country. [Applause] The few words spoken by Thiam must serve as an introduction. I promised you that our conference would have an original character. I was a member of the French parliament and I participated in six governments. I know how press conferences are prepared. I said recently that no subject is forbidden here, you may ask me all the questions you like. I will answer you with an open heart.

But at the beginning of my statement, I would like to answer a question in advance which all of you have on the tip of your tongue: the succession to President Houphouet. [Applause] As our congress was one of continuity, truth, and maturity, you know very well that I cannot shirk this question. But I would like to tell you that during my political life as leader of this country, there were only three occasions on which I was not supported by my people. The first time was when I presented to the Ivorian people a bill aimed at introducing a dual nationality; the second was when I proposed alternates for the National Assembly members; and the third time was when I proposed a vice president. Why? As far as the dual nationality was concerned, I thought that Africa--which has in itself something that belongs to it, that is a humanism imbued with true brotherhood and active solidarity--should not follow the situation existing in the developed countries: when a man asks for naturalization for personal reasons, he must first renounce his original citizenship. Let's look at the case of a Frenchman or a Lebanese. When this Frenchman, who belongs to a very old nation, seeks naturalization from a country like the United States, for reasons which I need not develop, he must renounce his original citizenship. We Africans think that we must do better than that; that we must respect one's original citizenship. This was the reason why, having practiced in our country this dual nationality which is like a child who becomes aware that he was born only on the day of his baptism. Should one refuse to baptize him?

In our governments, we have had ministers from foreign countries; they were Africans but still foreigners. We have foreign prefects; we have foreign ambassadors; we have foreign civil service leaders; and in the daily life, we have farmers who came from the other African territories, who have the same rights, and who take part in the building of the nation. How could we demand that these people renounce their Malian, (?French), Nigerian, or other citizenships? But my brothers refused for a very simple reason: During the colonial era, you know that Ivory Coast was the Benjamin [the last to be born] of the French colonies. We were not wanted. This was the coast of bad people. We were the last, and education here was not as developed as in Senegal and Benin, a country that was considered at that time the Latin Quarter [students quarter in Paris] of Africa. Therefore, our young cadres (?who had just left school), were afraid of the massive presence which dual nationality would permit: the massive penetration of cadres from countries which were most developed culturally before our accession to independence.

I remember that when in 1946 we dared to send 100 young Ivorians [words indistinct] to France--because we had no high schools--some people said: What a scandal! One hundred Africans who are going to obtain the same diplomas as white man? And Governor Latrille, who agreed to sponsor what had been called a scandal, was recalled. And nobody even took into account the very great efforts he had made in Chad in the service of General de Gaulle. Since we are a grateful people, we have given Latrille's name to the avenue starting from the Hotel Ivoire. This is the proof that Ivory Coast is a country which knows how to cultivate love and remembrance. We will see Latrille again in Ivory Coast next December. [Applause]

I was therefore obliged to yield. As I used to say, I am like the capitaine [a type of fish in Africa], which is nothing when it is taken out of the water; I am nothing if I am outside my people. I always listened to the people. I knew that I was right but the people did not understand me, so I agreed.

The second situation we experienced was that of appointing alternate members of the National Assembly. In order to hold frequent elections like certain countries and in order not to hold by-elections, I proposed the appointment of alternate National Assembly members [words indistinct]. My brothers unanimously refused for reasons which I understand. This is Africa.

The third affair concerns the vice presidency. I still remember--and the French who are here know--that I sat in the French Parliament for 15 years and had the great honor to be appointed into six successive governments. Guy Nairay is the one who asked me for the first time to become a member of the government; he is among you in this hall. I was appointed a minister delegate to the presidency, then as minister of state under (Leger Monohi); third cabinet portfolio, under ... [speaker stumbles] he died in the ship; three times as minister of health and population; then I was reappointed by Pierre (Flimlin) as minister of state. After this, before he went to the Elysee, De Gaulle was at the Matignon [seat of the prime minister], and he called on me to cooperate with him in his government. Then I was minister of state with Debre. So I was a member of six successive governments, and I understand how unstable the post of minister is, something which I did not want for our

constitution. I witnessed the coming and going of six successive presidents of the Council of Ministers. I can tell you that I was the permanent minister of the Republic of France in these six governments. Each of them left me hostage to their successor. [Applause]

This is why we copied everything positive in the French Constitution, avoiding this chronic instability. In a country like ours, with a single party, I am afraid. [Sentence as heard] In fact, I was in the United States; on the occasion of this memorable visit at the invitation of the late Kennedy, I was asked at a press conference by journalists: You have sat in the French Parliament, served in the French Government, and you know the deep root of the French democracy, how can you accept a 1-party system? At that time, people saw red when the idea of 1-party system was mentioned. I asked the journalists to allow me to answer their question by a question; then I asked them how many political parties they had at the time of independence. Only then did they remember that it was the party that led them to the victory that was the only party from the outset. We are starting off; why should they expect us to have many political parties? [Applause] So we have willingly copied--without doing this fully--the U.S. Constitution with a presidential system. We have even copied the Swiss-styled referendum which enables us to accept the verdict of the people who are sovereign; when there is a debate between the members of Parliament and of the government, the verdict of the people must be yielded to by everyone as the people are sovereign. The government will not resign and the National Assembly will not be dissolved.

For some time, while we were looking for our own path, we copied France's parliamentary system because, as the only African among my French brothers, I had been a member of the Committee for the Fifth Republic's Constitution. There is no presidential regime in France. Though the president is elected by the universal suffrage, this does not confer on the regime the status of a presidential regime. The Parliament can cause the downfall of a government, so this is not a presidential regime. I could not very well perceive the posts of prime minister or president of the council as such.

So, after 20 years of experience, I asked that we have a vice president. I was so careful as to request that the vice president be elected at the same time along with the president of the republic. Since I was already elected, I could no longer go back before the Assembly, before the people: I had 5 years of reflection ahead of me. [Applause] So much was said and written during the 5 years. But I am listening to my people. During the period, they came in turn to me; they wrote to me; cadres, but in particular our elders from the hinterland who reminded me that I am the customary leader--you witnessed this the day before yesterday. As such there are principles to be respected. A 115-year old elder, the Almany of Bondoukou, sent me a heart-rending letter. I could let you read it if you want to. He told me the reason why I should not accept a vice president; they do not want another person while I am still in power. [Applause] The cadres unanimously adopted this position during the pre-congress. We have just voted on a law making the speaker of the National Assembly the interim president in the event of a vacancy in the presidency. He will have 45 to 60 days to call presidential elections. During this period, he will at the same time be interim president

of the republic and president of the party. [Applause] For not having understood this in Cameroon, that country was nearly plunged into civil war when our former colleague, Ahidjo, resigned but wanted to retain the presidency of the party. This triggered a misunderstanding that turned out to be tragic! We want to avoid all that. So it is clear that in the event of a vacancy, it is the speaker who will act as interim president for 60 days, after which he must call presidential elections. He can be a candidate. [Applause]

Like Poher, acting president under the French constitution at the time of Pompidou who, although he was not successful, did run for office. [Applause] I made it a point to clarify this point before you begin asking your questions; I would like you to consider this debate closed once and for all. [Applause] You should take us as we are, and not what you want us to be. [Applause] There are traditions which, when they do not impede progress, we are obliged to respect these traditions.

In the Akan group, from which I come, there is a proverb: The dead have no say; which means, there is no testament. Succession goes from uncle to nephew when all of the brothers and cousins of a man have all died. But during the lifetime of one who is the head of family or of a region, nobody should know the name of the person who will succeed him.

We came from Ghana--I am sure you are going to ask me questions on the small incident which was blown out of proportion. Ever since we left Ghana in the 17th century up until now, it has been a continuous flow of people. Ghanaians come to establish themselves here; they remain and do not go back. [Laughter] Today, whatever the regime in power in Ghana, the matrilineal type of heritage remains; it is a taboo to touch it. But we have decided that--considering the fact that we have two big currents of practice on inheritance, among the 60 tribes of the Ivory Coast--there are two currents: matrilineal and patrilineal. The woman of the matrilineal heritage chooses her husband, while the women of the patrilineal heritage accepts the husband recommended to her. Ivory Coast is a unitary entity; we want a single legislature, and that is why we abolished on the one hand, the matrilineal regime, and on the other hand, the patrilineal regime, with the possibility for the woman to choose her husband. [Laughter] Therefore, I would like you to bear in mind that we are very much conscious of the problem of continuity; whether we are from the matrilineal or patrilineal type of heritage, we are very much conscious of this. And I, in whom the country has had confidence for more than 40 years, I am even more conscious of this. Many of my colleagues, even when they do not call themselves life president, some of them think of transmitting--like Duvalier-- [Laughter] power to their children. That is out of the question for me. None of my children assumes any political responsibility; none of my children has any responsibility in the government administration. I have worked in politics for 2 generations of the Houphouet family. Therefore, I am even freer to choose in all quietude the one who will ensure our continuity.

You know, we thought that to decolonize, like many others before us, we would not escape the growing pains. Everybody went through that. But because of the bad example of instability in some countries, we must reduce these growing pains. Right now that I am speaking to you, from Nouakchott to Kinshasa, there

are only four countries that have not as yet been destabilized: Senegal, with its Senegambia; Ivory Coast; Gabon; Cameroon, which nearly fell into destabilization. We are very much aware of this reality, and that is where we want the journalists to place more emphasis than dwelling on small issues. Are we going to follow a policy like that of the United States, with stability which has made the United States the most important country economically; or are we going to follow the path of Spanish and Portuguese colonization? I am referring to Central and South America, which has experienced 100 coups d'etat in less than one century, resulting in the backwardness experienced in this part of America as far as development is concerned. That is why the team spirit is important to us. God will help us find the man who, tomorrow, will continue this action that I have been doing. He will do it more easily because it is more difficult to pave a path than to widen a road. We have confidence in the good sense of our country. Do not come, morning and evening, talking about possible candidates for the presidency. Everybody is a candidate for the presidency, Everybody! [Applause] And this is not bad, on the contrary, the Ivorian is conscious of what he has to bring in the task of nation building. In short, I will stop here and listen to you. [Applause]

[Claude Jeremie, Radio France Internationale] Mr President, my question concerns the OAU. It has two parts, the first concerns the historical background of this organization. I would like you to tell us how you contributed to the founding of the OAU and upon which ideals it was created. The second part of the question is what is your assessment of the present situation of the OAU since it became divided over the issue of the Western Sahara?

[Houphouet-Boigny] Thank you; be patient because I have a lot to say. Day before yesterday, I quoted Kennedy who said: Victory has many fathers, but defeat is an orphan. Today, many people are claiming the paternity of the OAU. We say that what is important is not the killing of an elephant; what is important is that people should agree between themselves to eat the meat of the elephant that has been killed. [Applause] They should not leave it to rot. Well, I know that those whose countries have obtained independence before ours also sought to achieve continental unity. There was a group which preceded us, it was the so-called group of Casablanca or the Casablanca Charter, which grouped Morocco, Egypt, Ghana and Guinea. When our brother, the late Modibo Keita, after breaking away from us and leaving us because he did not want to join Senghor [Former Senegalese president] again in any organization, joined this Casablanca group; they became five members. After Sekou Toure, a member of the RDA [African Democratic Rally] left us, I summoned all the officials of the RDA in 1959 at the Rue de Lille, I was myself the chairman of the coordinating committee of this movement. That was when we said talking about independence would be too far away but that the community was already a form of independence and at any time through the positive vote of these assemblies of these states, we can accede to independence. By the way, we did not even have to follow this procedure. We just expressed our desire to leave the community and everybody in 1960 acceded to independence. I told my brothers during those days of the hard political struggle--I was their chairman--that we should meet either in Abidjan, Conakry, or in Mali to define the basic principles of the anticolonialist struggle, but we should give each country a free hand to implement them according to its own realities.

Thus, when Sekou Toure suppressed the chieftaincies, he did not betray the RDA spirit. The colonial power was using Guinea's chiefs who were very powerful, to thwart our march toward independence. Whereas in our country, we did not suppress the chieftaincies, you saw them the other day and myself I am a chief. It was the entire Ivorian population, no matter what social strata they belong to, that joined the PDCI-RDA to wage the struggle for emancipation. Therefore, I told my friends who had just left us that we were acceding to independence and that the RDA should continue to suggest common rules for the management of public property. We left the choice for every country to implement these rules according to its means, having the basic rules in common. Then I proposed the formation of the Entente Council. Those present were the RDA officials of the former AOF [French West Africa] and AEF [Equatorial French Africa]. You are aware that the RDA practically led to independence Brazzaville [Congo-Brazzaville], Chad, and Gabon, and in West Africa it led all the French-speaking states, except Guinea and Mauritania. Therefore I suggested the Entente Council, which in our view was an entire program. Its name alone implies an entire program. We had to understand ourselves first before being united. I will speak about this issue later because you will ask me about Mobutu's proposal. We must first understand ourselves before being united. We should be united to do what, I asked my brothers with some humor--but it was a serious question. We should be united not to sing and to dance, as we had danced and sung too much, but united to build Africa together, a free, independent, and fraternal Africa.

I pointed out that in order to enable everyone to join us, let us ensure that those who are not with us are not orphans. In fact, what did our brothers Senghor, Ahidjo, and Father Boganda represent? They represented only their territories. They had nothing else? They had just gained their independence. We formed an entity of countries led by the RDA. In order that they do not see themselves as orphans, I suggested a flexible formula which was in line with the RDA spirit--that of true friendship, active solidarity, and respect for others. I said that we would have a flexible formula which would take into account neither the importance of the population nor the economy. It would be on a totally egalitarian basis that we would create our Entente Council. The chairmanship would be assumed in rotation. They all agreed, but instead of doing what we did some 3 years later in Addis Ababa--that is imitating the status of the Entente Council--I asked them to respect the rights of the grassroots and our militant masses. I asked them to go back and think about what we wanted to do together and that we should meet again 1 month later at the Rue de Lille where I was minister of state, in order to concrete our views. Unfortunately, I did not reckon with the unrepentant dividers.

They embarked upon ... [changes thought] Senghor who was not with us. They succeeded in detaching Darbousier from us because he did represent a country, yet he was an active member of our organization, and they set up the headquarters in Modibo Keita's country in order to rebuild that federal executive government which we did not want. Our Malian brothers are here. Modibo did not go to consult him. Jean Marie Kone is here. Sangare is here. In 15 days, Modibo Keita came to see me and said that Mali had rejected the idea of a Sudanese union. It now wanted a federation formula. We had already rejected the federation formula; we cannot revive it any longer.

My brothers from the AEF who came to the Rue de Lille because of me, said that if we did not agree with ourselves at the level of the AOF, they were going to withdraw. Then, it was the general attack. I was the balkanizer. They succeeded in persuading Debre, even De Gaulle. Many Frenchmen accepted this complex of culpability. To my knowledge, and as you know, there has never been one nation at the level of one continent. This has never existed. There are states that were built through the centuries. Borders are scars of history and even the best plastic surgeon cannot remove them so easily. Therefore, Senghor succeeded in inviting states like Benin, the former Upper Volta now Burkina Faso, Mauritania, and the former French Sudan, and laid the basis for a federation.

At the second meeting, our brothers of Benin and of former Upper Volta had asked that we specify the distribution of the responsibilities at the level of this new organization. [Words indistinct] our brothers then understood that the coalition that I was proposing was on an egalitarian basis, and that what was being proposed to them and which no one dared to clearly define under this African sun--was an (?illusion). Only Niger failed to go to Dakar; it waited. They came to me and said that some people wanted to abuse us, and that they would join us. Thus we created the Council of Entente in May 1959. It is the oldest African subregional organization. One can say that it is the oldest African organization. It is not by its size but by its spirit of active solidarity which has resulted in the fact that despite the changes that have occurred among our partners, we remained united. One day during a press conference in Gabon--where I was on an official visit--a journalist, who did not know that our organization was based essentially on a contract of economic and social cooperation to the exclusion of political problems, asked me: President Houphouet, but what are you going to do with all of these military-men, these generals, these colonels? Will you be able to feel at ease? I answered: Why not? In Africa, there is one thing that everyone respects. It is the privilege of age. Since I am the oldest, during the next meeting, my generals and colonels will be raised to the rank of marshals. [Applause]

And it happened, during the distribution of the posts of responsibility, Mali and Senegal failed to reach an agreement and separated. And it was during one of our Entente Council ministerial meetings in Abidjan that Diagne Mamadou--history is a testimony--was sent to us by Senghor to express his regret for having delayed us. They had failed, and they asked me to take up again the first idea of regrouping all the French-speaking states. And before continuing--since we have English-speaking journalists here--I have always been blamed for bringing together only the French-speaking countries. One must begin somewhere; one must begin with what already exists. During the period of colonization, and despite the fact that we were struggling to get out of the state of dependency, we worked, in our French-speaking countries, in cooperation with the French residents in our countries serving in the municipal councils, the territorial assemblies, the federal assemblies in Dakar, Brazzaville, and Tananarivo. As far as I am concerned, I have just recalled that some persons went to the French Parliament and took part in French governments. Therefore, France was not opposed to the political union of the countries of which it was in charge. It was thus that we were able to create our political parties. But there was no joint organization for our

English-speaking brothers. Sierra Leone ignored Ghana, Gambia ignored Sierra Leone, and Ghana ignored Nigeria. There was the same situation on their side, but there was no contact. None of these countries went to the British Parliament or to the British Government. Therefore, we had the basis for cooperation and for creating a joint organization. But we did not mean a joint organization at the level of the French-speaking countries alone. We wanted to start from what already existed--the French nucleus--in order to serve the whole of Africa. When we say for example African Rally or Air Afrique, there is no limitation. Our ambition was much vaster.

In short, to answer your questions, we were meeting in Abidjan when Senghor launched a call for a joint organization under the aegis of the African Democratic Rally. I agreed. I therefore issued the invitation and, like a single man, all replied. Ahidjo--who was a Senghor (?supporter) [words indistinct]; Boganda was dead but his nephew Dacko replied; and all the other RDA countries such as Gabon, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Ivory Coast, Niger, Burkina Faso,--excuse me, some words are difficult to pronounce--[Applause] and, Benin. Madagascar gave its approval for membership but being too far away, it was unable to join us in Abidjan. I then proposed a second meeting, with the presence of Madagascar, in Brazzaville. And we all went to Brazzaville. This was the first and last time that I presided over an African organization. Even the Entente Council which I created--and I will talk to you about all that the council has achieved. I have never agreed to preside over the Entente Council meetings. Truth is in the center, I prefer to serve within the ranks than to be at the top.

But at that time, there was the question of creating another organization: the Brazzaville group which was not opposed to the Casablanca group. The Casablanca Charter had no organization. They held meetings but there was no organization, there was no chairman, or a secretariat. They met in order to talk about unity [words indistinct]. However, at the end of our meeting, we launched a call to our brothers in the former Belgian colonies to join us. And they now asked me to launch an appeal beyond the linguistic barriers for the formation of a single organization at the level of the continent. As you know, people did not consider the difficulties during the euphoria of independence. It was a challenge we were throwing to the world. There has never been an organization at the level of an entire continent. It exists neither in Asia, nor in America. In Europe, you can see the attempt of the 6 states that have now increased to 12, which are threatened with disruption each time they discuss agricultural prices. But as for us, we accepted this challenge and we launched the appeal. I received only three replies.

Unfortunately, the authors have died. But (?they will be found) in their dossiers, in the dossiers of Africa. The first reply came from the late Tafawa Balewa [former Nigerian prime minister], that great African statesman. The whole of Africa mourned his death. He had such wisdom and was so realistic and could have helped us progress rapidly in the construction of our continent. He replied to me, as I have just told you, that this was new; the British have never united the people even in Nigeria, there was the north, the west, and the east--a situation which we did not face in our country. Being the prime minister, he sent me a wise and realistic reply, asking me to wait for his

final decision when he had held consultations with all his people. The late Kwame Nkrumah hurriedly answered me, saying that he agreed provided I adhere to the Casablanca Charter, that is, the group of 10 should join the group of 5. This was another form of reply.

The most positive reply [words indistinct] was sent to me by the late Modibo Keita [former Malian president]:

I know your great passion for African unity. You have led us for many years within the African Democratic Rally [RDA]. You are not (?selfish). But I have just joined new friends who will not answer positively because the invitation comes from you. So you must propose a neutral country, which I did.

People have spoken of a meeting between the group of Casablanca with Tubman. There has never been such a meeting. Tubman was left outside. (?Tafawa Balewa) was also left outside; Olympio of Togo was left outside, as well as [name indistinct]. There were only five, along with one who left us--Modibo, I will say it again--who formed the group of Casablanca. Not knowing our brothers of the (?west) coast, they hurriedly asked the late President Tubman to invite Africans to hold a meeting in Monrovia in an attempt to lay the basis for our unity, for the Organization of African Unity. With a lot of wisdom, I said: I am alone, but there are 12 of you. You must co-sponsor the invitation with me. I also told them: I will do even better. I said I would sponsor the invitation; on our side, Ahidjo and myself. On the side of the group of Casablanca--I did not ask permission from them--Kwame Nkrumah and Modibo Keita; on the side of those on the western coast, (?Tafawa Balewa), and Olympio of Togo. Had they retained the idea? I do not know. Still, on the fixed day, those of the group of Brazzaville were present in Monrovia. People have spoken of the group of Monrovia; it is not the group of Monrovia. We took the initiative. On that day, we were joined in Monrovia by neighboring Sierra Leone and Liberia, since the latter was the host country. We were also joined, from the West African coast, by Togo and Nigeria; and from the other side of Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia were represented by their prime ministers. That is what has been described as the group of Monrovia. Our brothers from Casablanca were conspicuous in their absence; they gave no excuse.

We held the meeting. I was very happy to hear everyone wholeheartedly agree to the creation of African unity. I was last to speak, as I do very often at our meetings. I said I was very happy to lay the basis of the organization. But I questioned what type of organization it was going to be, because I did not want to start with a misunderstanding. We wanted a unity that would not imply supranational authority, the type which we were used to hearing with President Nkrumah. (?We wanted) the type which we adopted in the group of Brazzaville, with a rotating chairmanship, that is with absolute equality. Among our brothers of Casablanca, was a man, the late Nkrumah, who called for one government for the whole of Africa, a federal assembly for the whole of Africa. They were not present, but we were to take a stand on this issue at first. Should we adopt the formula of what is known now as the formula of the Brazzaville group or the formula dear to the late Kwame Nkrumah? After the suspension of the session, the late Tafawa Balewa spoke first, saying: Nigeria

rules out the slightest supranational authority, thus rejecting the thesis of the late Nkrumah; however, we adhere gladly to the formula proposed on behalf of the Brazzaville group by President Houphouet-Boigny. As the doyen, I have made the proposal. If our brothers from Casablanca had been present that day, we would have constructed our unity in Monrovia. So as the doyen, I proposed that we should tentatively send a second invitation to the group of Addis Ababa, which was done. But we were pained, I would not say we felt indignation, to note that on the eve of our arrival, the (?Nigerian) papers wrote in great headlines: A Failure Ahead. This is because the Casablanca group laid down a prerequisite--bear this in mind--the participation as a full member of the GPRA [Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic] in the construction of African unity. We visited Senghor, who was the chairman of our organization--he was the second chairman of the Brazzaville group--at his residence. They [the Casablanca group] uttered very tough words: Because of Gen de Gaulle, because we are submitted to France, we are practically not independent; because Gen de Gaulle is fighting against Algeria, we would never admit the GPRA among us, which was not the problem. I spoke to my brothers; I told them our brothers of Casablanca were posing a false problem. If we held an anti-colonialist (?banquet), the king's throne would be given to the GPRA which was fighting for the independence of Algeria. But the issue is laying the basis of an organization relying on states, on responsible officials. If we planned to establish a telephone line, how could the GPRA--which controls no territory--subscribe to such a commitment. President Senghor, who was our chairman, of the Brazzaville group, said: Tomorrow morning, you will be our spokesman at the meeting. On that day, instead of sending his prime minister, Emperor Haile Selassie himself came to the meeting. I explained what I have just said, adding that we were ready to use that organization to support the GPRA in its struggle, be it only morally, just like we would for any movement fighting for the independence of any other country. I was applauded.

The session was adjourned and the Casablanca representative was invited to convey the authorities of [name indistinct] the undertaking that we had just taken. I helped the GPRA in its struggle just as we did later for all the movements for decolonization. But under no circumstances could we fully admit into our organization heads of state. The GPRA did not control the Algerian territory. After a 1-hour adjournment the answer was negative. We resumed our session, and it was I again, as the doyen of the group, who asked the late Haile Selassie to try the third invitation, which he did. Meanwhile, Algeria had acceded to independence; and nothing retained the Casablanca group again. That is how we went there. If you have time, I would ask you to see what each person said at that time. I hope that that film [of the meeting] is not lost.

In any case, the call I made--which was almost the last one--led to the establishment of a study commission. We said it was enough. We should not dismiss the session without launching the effective basis for the organization, and that is what we did. It was the late Tubman and the late Haile Selassie who, because of the modest contribution for the setting up of the OAU, decided to place the headquarters of the African Development Bank in Abidjan. It was not I; the Ivory Coast has never asked for any seat or any post. There is our contribution. But what did we do, what undertaking did we take there? The objectives were quite clear: to conduct our organization through the complete

decolonization of Africa, until we see the disappearance of all racial discrimination, including the odious apartheid, and establish the basis for an economy which will serve in the interests of our countries. Two principles underlie the membership of the organization: You must be a free, independent, and sovereign state, and not a movement; the second is the scrupulous respect for the borders inherited from colonization. There are the two principles that should be respected, otherwise one day everything will (?blow up). Supposing there is a group of dissidents in a country which says we want this, and that; that would be bad.

Therefore, you can understand Ivory Coast's position on the Western Sahara issue. We have nothing against our brothers of Western Sahara. When a commission, led by our current minister of foreign affairs, Simeon Ake--then our representative at the UN--was to consult Spain, the SDAR, Mauritania, Morocco, and Algeria, I told him: do not think about yourself alone, but think about Ivory Coast; be very careful; even if the information you receive does not please your friends, transmit it as is to the General Assembly of the United Nations in (?consultation) with your brother members of the commission. And two resolutions were immediately presented: one by which Morocco demanded the recognition of Spain's cession from Western Sahara in favor of Mauritania and Morocco. This was adopted; we did not vote. There was a second resolution presented by Boumedienne's Algeria asking the same assembly to recognize the self-determination of the Saharan people; this was adopted also, we did not take part in the vote. I say we do not believe in the virtue nor the dynamism of resolutions. Africans should understand the illusion of this conception. They must make the necessary effort for a dialogue to settle all disputes, instead of resolutions. Resolutions are too easy. They do not commit anybody, not even the United Nations. So we waited, from the United Nations to the OAU; we maintained our position of absolute neutrality. Ivory Coast works for peace. The day His Majesty King Hassan II came to propose a referendum under the control of the OAU for the self-determination of the Saharan people, then we voted. There is a 4-member country commission for the implementation of this resolution. As you know, the problem had become more difficult: it is a question of referendum, and whenever one talks about referendum, one talks about elections; and when there are elections, there should be electors. Who are the electors who voted? Is it those whose names appear on the list recorded by the Spanish--Spain did not have any interest in shortening or reducing the list of voters in the Western Sahara--yet there were 80,000 names. Now we learn that there are more than 750,000 on the side of the Saharans taking refuge in Algeria. At this rate, we will be heading toward a different era. I do not know how we can avoid this problem, under certain circumstances it is difficult to determine the truth. If one is lining up 750,000 the other will line up 1 million, and we will not see the truth. There must be an honest referendum. We support an honest referendum, even under the responsibility of the OAU and UN. Honesty in the referendum must be accepted. People say I am against the Polisario that I am against the SDAR. No, I am for principle. If tomorrow a referendum proves the Polisario or the SDAR right, I will be the first to applaud. But our friends want to lead us into ridicule--at my age. [Applause] How can we recognize a state--can the UN fabricate a state? No! The UN must work to reconcile and look for the path of understanding and therefore peace. But this is the type of state that has been elected into our

organization. Will it be accepted by the UN? Never! 'Arafat can speak, address a message to the UN; that is possible. But as long as 'Arafat is not at the head of an independent, sovereign Palestinian state, 'Arafat will never be admitted into the UN; the same goes for the SDAR--our OAU was inspired by the UN Charter. We have not taken sides. We are only telling the truth, and the truth is what I have just told you: It is not possible to create states--where are we going to end?

Tomorrow, if there is a dissident faction in any given country, they will find men to declare that they have constituted a state, then this leads us to division of the continent. This is why Ivory Coast abstains and will continue to do so, as long as the referendum is not carried out in sincerity and in honesty. The United Nations or the OAU could be charged with carrying out the census. This is easy. We know where the tents were. We can find these people there. That is our stand on the creation of the OAU. [Applause]

[Antonio Silla of OSSERVATORE ROMANO] What has Ivory Coast done for peace in Africa and in the world and what is Ivory Coast's contribution in the struggle against famine in the Sahel countries?

[Houphouet-Boigny] In 1965, I said here in Abidjan that in view of the world's division, Africa cannot play an efficient role, Africa cannot consolidate its gains as a newly independent continent, unless it exercises an effective neutrality. And what did I propose? Three conditions. The first was peace within each member states. We must do everything for true peace, peace of the heart and of the mind, to reign within each African territory. Roman peace--peace through force--is no peace. It is not lasting; we want a lasting peace that leads countries to true independence and consolidate that independence. The second condition is peace among the African states. Of what use is the division of this world? Within the borders of a given country, if there is no peace, we will witness the action of the two blocs. Then, we do not have the conditions for real neutrality. The third condition is peace of African states with the rest of the world. I cited the example of Switzerland. I am not teaching you anything new. The journalists are here. Swiss cantons fought among themselves. But wisdom visited them one day and they decided to put an end to their intracanton quarrels. The natives of France, Germany, and Italy put an end to their quarrels, they also committed themselves never to take part in any conflict that would come up between the various countries of which they are natives. It is because they have achieved these three conditions--peace within the French, German, and Italian cantons, peace within the various cantons, and peace with the rest of the world. And this can be verified because there were two world wars and Switzerland did not involve itself in them while the wars involved these three countries of which they [the Swiss] are natives--that Switzerland benefitted from this neutrality guaranteed by states, with the exception of two, the United States and the present Russia. At that time, the United States was not a big country. It was a colonized country, it was not a nation. It could not affix its signature before that of Portugal, so it did not do anything. The Russians accepted the heritage of the tzars. Siberia, for example, is not European but Asian. But the Russians refused to affix their signature, after breaking all the commitments of the tzars, but we know, the United States and the Russians will not accept the violation of the

Swiss neutrality. It is for this reason that we said that instead of seeking inconsistent formulas which cannot be verified, despite our good will to try to avoid committing ourselves to one camp or the other, why do we not try in Africa to achieve this neutrality. It takes a long time, because there is not peace yet within African states. They are fighting still. So the first condition has not been achieved. Among the African states--you see what is happening because of the Western Sahara and Chad--there is no entente. Therefore, to answer the question of the journalist of the *OSSERVATORE ROMANO* of the Vatican, I say that we are for peace. I said on that day that even if one possesses all virtues of knowledge, intelligence, and know-how and is at the head of a small country, his voice will never be heard. On the other hand, if he is a mediocre person at the head of a country which is powerful because of its economy and its army, people will listen to him.

At the end of my conference, one ambassador, whose name I will not mention, as you can understand, came to me and asked: Whom are you referring to? I said it is eternal truth. And he said it is our wish to have you at the head of our country. I told him I am not a candidate. So, we are here to seek ways to achieve peace. Therefore, we must set the example. We cannot talk of peace when there is no peace at home. Here, we have made peace a second religion. We have just concluded a congress by increasing the number of the members of the Political Bureau and the Steering Committee. During the next 5 years, they must go to the grassroots to consolidate this desire for peace. Each one of us must adopt this attitude, deep within himself. With peace, everything is possible. Everything can serve as an example. It takes two persons to love each other. It takes two persons to hate each other. Even when people do not react in the manner which we desire, even if we are hated, we still love them. There is no room for hatred in our heart. [Applause] This is to tell you that we maintain the best of relations with all countries. We do not interfere into their domestic matters. We have welcomed here more than 2 million of our brothers. Four-fifths of them came here to look for work and they are actively taking part in nation building.

Many of them have permanently established themselves here. They will never return to their countries. One day I went to Nouakchott in the company of Abou. You may go and see him. He is in Yamoussoukro, near the mosque, where he has a house. He has spent more than 50 years in Ivory Coast and 40 years in Yamoussoukro. He accompanied me. And on my way back home, when I reached the (Rosso) ferry, I was very astonished to see Abou who has left his country for many years. But what are you doing here? He answered: I am returning to my country, that is Ivory Coast. He did not want to remain behind. This is the situation. What we are doing in Ivory Coast is to welcome our brothers. And we welcome them with African humanism that is imbued with true brotherhood and solidarity. This has the value of an example. This peace is active peace. This is the peace we are looking for. Not peace in word only. We have said that for us peace is not a word but a way of behaving. But the task is a difficult one. We are not alone. We are doing what we can. We maintain the best possible relations with all the African states. We have never asked a cent from the United Nations for our refugees who get integrated with life here. They are welcomed like brothers either by Ivorians or by their brothers who preceded them in this country. I told you at the beginning that many of

them are property owners just like our Ivorian brothers. We have decided that any African who develops a portion of Ivorian land becomes definitively the owner of this land and he can transmit this property to his heirs. It is thanks to this that we have attained this high level of production.

Therefore, the peace we want is peace that is built with acts and not with words. I think I have answered your questions.

[Emire (Tesseron) of (?LA VIE FRANCAISE)] Mr President, do you not think that on the world scene, Africa's weight in the economic field and particularly as far as raw materials are concerned as well as in the political and strategic fields is less important now than it was 10 or 20 years ago. And if you agree with this statement, what do you think are the reasons for this?

[Houphouet-Boigny] There is the weight of the past but there are also the errors which I have just denounced. In international trade, Africa represents 2 percent of which 1 percent is for South Africa alone. It remains 1 percent for all the remaining African countries including northern Africa. This is negligible. This does not count. Even a small American village has more than 2 percent of trade. [Applause] But what shall we do? We must not get discouraged. We have enormous potentialities. We have intelligent men. When you see a French, American, or European scholar, generally he is either the son or the grandson of a scholar. But our research workers came directly from the illiterate masses. This is fallow intelligence waiting only to be fecundated. We have the means of making up for our long backwardness. This is why we are very strongly attached to peace.

If peace is necessary for the developed countries, it is indispensable for Africa. There is a slight difference. If we manage to achieve peace in all our countries, if we ensure stability, in solidarity, and tolerance thanks to this peace, we can have any hope. Africa is rich. It has riches that are ignored. I said at the congress and I repeat that for a long time people considered Africa's underpopulation as a weakness. No! It is wealth. Agricultural development will be done thanks to the data processing revolution and not with human labor. It will be done with machines, with techniques, and with technology. How could one talk of mechanization in the overpopulated Asia where each person has scarcely one hectare of land? How could one even talk in future of major agricultural projects in Europe where the agricultural land is growing smaller and smaller because of the construction of buildings? Africa is very vast. We have been asked what we are doing for the Sahel. I take this opportunity to answer the two questions. It is good that through generosity the developed countries should go to the aid of our brothers suffering from thirst and hunger in the Sahel by giving them their surpluses of wheat, corn and so on. But this is not the way. We must be honest. This is not the way to help our Sahelian brothers. You explore for oil in the Sahelian subsoil at a depth of 2,500 to 3,000 meters. There is water at a depth of 1,000 meters at the maximum. Why can you not, with the technical means at your disposal, bring water to our Sahelian brothers. [Applause] Around the wells the farmers will settle who are now driven to the cities by the drought. You have talked about planting trees. How can one plant trees without water?

[Applause] With water, there will be development of agriculture and stock-breeding. There will be grass and there will be crops of corn, millet and so on. This is the real solution! All the rest is unsound. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, an African state, Tunisia, has just been the victim of a barbaric aggression; an aggression against its sovereignty, against its integrity, and against international legality. The voice of the Ivory Coast was not heard in the worldwide condemnation. Considering your friendship with that African country, especially with President Bourguiba, and considering that for an Arab, silence is always synonymous with approval, I would like to ask you directly what is your attitude concerning this Israeli aggression against Tunisia--this is to avoid any erroneous interpretation.

[Houphouet-Boigny] I have already met with the representatives of Tunisia at the congress. I have told them that I am sending my minister of foreign affairs to hand a letter to Bourguiba; and I know why. [Applause] You see, let us not delight in condemnations. They do not solve the problems. Now we condemn such person; in the evening, another commits an act contrary to the first one, we spend our time condemning. [Applause] Contradictory! Look at my behavior: I am a brother, a sincere brother; when I see my brother crying, instead of sitting down crying with him, which would not relieve him, I'd rather act--I will take as much time as necessary--in order to ensure that he will never have to cry. [Applause] Bourguiba will receive my minister.

[Max Jallad, LE MERIDIONAL] I would like to ask your feeling about the outcome of the Seoul conferences of the IMF and the World Bank, about the U.S. refusal to participate in the reconstitution of the funds of the International Development Association. Lastly, allow me to ask an additional subquestion: Will Ivory Coast, if necessary, plead for the integration of Guinea into the West African Monetary Fund, UMOA, and the franc zone.

[Houphouet-Boigny] I am a small man at the head of a very small country. The representatives of the World Bank and the IMF know that in this field, I have been engaged in discrete action, approaching the responsible officials to help us. No year goes by without me approaching the U.S. president, or calling on the Europeans to help us. I do this discretely; perhaps it is [word indistinct]. But concerning Guinea, it is my wish that Guinea joins us in the UMOA, in the francs zone. But Guinea is an independent country; it is up to Guinea alone to decide whether it will join the UMOA or the franc zone. If it wants to do this ... we have helped Mali, which has come back to the UMOA, we would promptly act so Guinea can be together with us. [Applause]

[Siradou Diallo, JEUNE AFRIQUE] Mr President, long ago, you championed dialogue in the settlement of the problem posed by apartheid in South Africa. Do you believe that it is still possible today to call for the same policy in countries where brothers who have become enemies, have been fighting since independence? I am thinking of Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe.

[Houphouet-Boigny] Ivory Coast is characterized by its constancy. [Applause] I [words indistinct] this thought has always haunted me: nothing can resist constant work; and drops of water wear off the hardest rock. [Applause] We

must remain constant. As long as we live on earth. There will always be differences between human beings. It is regrettable. It is the reality, a sad reality: but there it is. How many ways are there to solve the problem? Ivory Coast knows but only two, not three: either by force or through negotiations, that is through a dialogue. From experience, we know that the dialogue is not the weapon of the weak, but on the contrary, it is the weapon of the strong (it is easier to make war than to make peace). If dialogue does not prevent war, war needs to be ended one day or another. But then what will your recourse be? Negotiations, dialogue under difficult circumstances; after the destruction of so many human lives, and property, a wall of distrust is established that is difficult to destroy. This is why we have always been for dialogue; not just for South Africa. As we said in our country, we have the dialogue to solve all our problems. Now what is needed, between the whites in South Africa and our black brothers in South Africa? It is (?dialogue).

You see, there are many approaches to the problem. In 1957, I was a member of Guy Mollet's government, and my permanent undersecretary was the brilliant speaker who spoke here, [name indistinct]. We were together. We were put up in the same hotel. We went to a nearby restaurant accompanied by my aides--French and white. They did not refuse to serve me. But all those--white--who had been there before and the whites who came after me were served. As I am patient, I waited because I wanted to know how far they could... [Applause] It was only after over 2 hours that I received the first course. I thanked them and went out without waiting for the rest. [Applause] I have been to Harlem and noticed that the buses carrying the whites stopped at the limit of the black residential areas, then later went to Harlem. On the return trip, the blacks could not get off in the white areas. When I was in a restaurant, they looked at me with questioning eyes: What is that brother among the whites coming to do here. To make them feel relaxed, I told them I was the leader of these whites accompanying me. They are my [word indistinct]. [Applause] So, there was racial discrimination. There was no equality. The United States did not commit the stupidity of institutionalizing that. Some Americans were racist while the majority were against racism. I have followed the struggle, the revolt of the blacks. In some cities, there were fires. There were men like Martin Luther King--this is often forgotten--who preached nonviolence, dialogue. He was killed and the Americans want to make the date of that Black's death, 15 January, a remembrance day.

When I visited Washington some time later, I was so pleasantly surprised to see a black, mayor of Washington, the American capital, present me with the keys of the city. [Applause] I visited Los Angeles: a black presented me with the keys of the city; he has even visited me in Yamoussoukro. Very recently, you heard that many black mayors of U.S. cities came to hold a meeting in Liberia. Kwame Nkrumah's first envoy to Washington, his minister of finance, was denied access to the restaurants.

But today, there is a harmonious mixture: one can find black Americans in white residential areas; nonviolence has overcome violence. Even in a country at war, war is imposed on all citizens, but there is always a fraction of people who do not want war but are made to put up with it. We must help such

people to determine their lot. What have we done? We talk about the primacy of age, and all that... When we were young, what were we not told about Americans? But the blacks have succeeded. They are in embassies; they are at the United Nations. Do you think that did not help, however small that may be, in bringing about understanding among whites who are very many in the United States, who condemned discrimination which now honors their brothers? I am still in favor of dialogue. But, as I have told you, we must always take people as they are and not as what we would like them to be. It was in 1971 that I proposed dialogue among all African states including South Africa, and people reacted angrily over the idea of including South Africa. It is not South Africa alone which practices discrimination. There is discrimination everywhere. I do not want to name anybody; but there is apartheid everywhere. [Applause] Let us first clean our houses! There are minority groups everywhere in black Africa--and I will soon talk about the problem raised by Mobutu. Let each one of us examine his conscience. Let each of us take a look in his state: there are black minorities everywhere in Africa. What lot has been reserved them? [Applause] Are they in the government? Are they in parliament? Are they in the administration? No! They are not seen. They are in the (?slums). [Applause] And this is in black Africa! This is the congress of truth; so let us tell ourselves the truth. [Laughter]

When recently we learned that there has been some sort of softening and that the blacks and whites [in South Africa] can have [marital] relations, we applauded that because it was a softening of apartheid. But what are we waiting for in black Africa. We also have apartheid. Your brothers--whether they have had the brightest of education, whether they are the greatest of scientists, or even if they are the greatest of the bourgeois because of their work--if they are the descendant of goldsmiths, blacksmiths, story tellers--those who are the guardians of our oral history, you call them griots [Applause]--and you do not accept that he marries the most miserable of women if she is a descendant of a superior caste. And for many years you do not abolish this. How can you talk about apartheid so lightly? [Applause]

Coercive measures have just been taken to bring the whites of South Africa to recognize the equal rights of blacks. I hail these measures as do you. What will be the practical implications of this? When it was prohibited to sell arms to the whites of South Africa, we applauded it, but they have such high technological know-how that they started manufacturing them. [Applause] All this is irresponsible!

I agree that we all accept and follow these measures of extreme rigor [against South Africa] and I want this to succeed; I want this to make the whites of South Africa review their position. How can one not be revolted by such inhuman behavior by the whites against the blacks of South Africa. But I am at pains to admit that there are too many things that are said and which do not yield anything.

I sent my former minister of information, Mr Fologo, to reciprocate a visit that the South African minister of information paid me here. He went there with his white wife--a French woman. He went there with his permanent under-secretary who is a mulatto (Laughter), the three component races in South

Africa. [Laughter] He was very well received by the authorities of South Africa, but he demanded to have contact with our black brothers of Soweto, who have not as yet seen such a thing. When they saw Fologo among whites, they asked: What is this? A black surrounded by whites? This was new to them. Fologo extended my most fraternal greetings to them, and in front of the whites he told them that we condemned apartheid, and this was in front of the whites. But he spoke to our brothers there by specifying that there are two solutions: you can resort to force if you think there is no other means, but we do not approve of that; what we would prefer is dialogue; it is hard, it is slow but you will end up saving the black race which has already lost too much blood. They became relaxed and embraced Fologo; and Fologo invited the black personalities to the white residential area for cocktails. That was the first time they were going to the white area. [Applause] Instead of only one embassy--that of Malawi--if there were many--we should not be afraid; we must be courageous. [Sentence as heard] [Houphouet changes subject] Bourguiba, before me, had asked for dialogue with Israel; it was not accepted. He plucked up courage--you journalists should report this to my brother, the doyen Bourguiba. I have told him that there is one honor I don't want: that of replacing him as the doyen and that he should live as long as possible. [Applause] Well, Bourguiba plucked up courage and went to Syria. He was (?assailed) and he was nearly killed and he retreated; he did not continue.

The 1967 tragedy came, and Israel occupied Arab territory. Bourguiba did not say: I told you so. No! He was affected by this humiliation and went along with all the Arab states. But if people had listened to him, if they had paid attention to him! The last war created tension everywhere which is heating up, resulting in the partition of countries. There is the partition of Germany in Europe; there is partition in the Middle East. The Jews and the Arabs had lived in harmony until the partition. There was a minority of Jews; many of them had left their country.

The Arabs knew the Palestinians because they were all Palestinians. [Sentence as heard] After the failure of the crusades, the Europeans experienced the Arab colonization of the Palestinians. Moses came first. All the Palestinians did not accept his religion. The Palestinians broke away from Jews. Afterwards, it was Jesus who came. All the Palestinians did not accept the Christian religion. Later, it was the Arabs that came. These Arabs imposed their language upon the Palestinians but they did not succeed in imposing the Muslim religion upon all the Palestinians. A part of the Arab-speaking Palestinians are Christians. These are the factors of this situation. There are a lot of people who speak on this matter without knowing the historical background. Therefore, they were all Palestinians--Jews, Arab-speaking Palestinians but of Muslim religion, Arab-speaking Palestinians of Christian religion. They lived in perfect harmony under the successive Arab, Turkish and British domination. It was from the partition of Palestine that the drama began. It was the same drama. We saw it in Germany. I told you of the various ideologies. Would you have thought that Prussia, which was the brain and the force behind Germany which nearly dominated the world on two occasions, would today be separated from the others because of a matter of ideology. There was partition. In conclusion, today, how many people, how many nations truly wish for the reunification of Germany. There is no one. [Applause]

This is true. It serves no purpose hiding the truth. It is not because we are small. We are citizens of the world and all that concerns peace concerns all of us. It is the same problem. There was the partition of Pakistan from India. We have Kashmir, Bangladesh. When the British were there, it was one country which has today been divided. Small Africa was not left out in this partitioning exercise. In Togo, the border line of the former British Togo passed through only about 500 meters from the residence of the former governor of Togo. Northern Cameroon was joined to Nigeria. One part of Togo has been joined to Ghana. But we black Africans, we are wise. [Applause] We do not want to resort to war to correct the irregularities and acts of injustice. We prefer to wait and one day perhaps with time, to settle the matter between brothers but, elsewhere, it is through war. That Palestinian territory where people saw how God appeared three times--with Moses, with Jesus and with Muhammad who left Jerusalem with his employer, Khadija, who later became his wife after the pilgrimage, that territory which is the land of the chosen, God's blessed land, should be a land of love and fraternity. But rather, blood is spilling. Here, there was a delegation of Muslims who came to ask me how I, little Houphouet, see the end to that Middle East crisis. I said I can talk to you as a believer like you. I am a believer, too. There cannot be any political solution. This is excluded. There cannot be any military solution. I think we are not going to start waging another Hundred Years War. That is history now. We must find a spiritual solution. You must review the problem of your rapport. On the spiritual plane, put an end to this fighting. Truly, when one sees what is dividing you, it is not a question of land. It is ridiculous to base yourselves on the issue of land area. Are you fighting because of the stones in the Golan? Can you not avoid all these things?

I think one day we will achieve this solution, if not, we will be wasting our time making condemnations upon condemnations. They will lead to nothing. It is the same problem in South Africa. I agree to recognize that the United States and Europe have just made a great effort to apply economic pressure in order to make the whites in South Africa review their stand vis-a-vis our brothers. But what is the outcome? We have to wait. Truly, have we not let too much of our lives be wasted over the centuries? Shall we witness this situation help anything? When we speak about Mandela, who has been in jail for years, is he playing into the hands of the whites in South Africa. You know the situation in some developing countries. Do you know how many political prisoners are in this country which has existed for 20 years? There are none. We are asking that he be released but I think that Ivory Coast will wait patiently and pray that the measures that have just been taken against the whites in South Africa succeed in bringing peace and equality of rights between all the components of that multiracial society. It is the wish of all of us. Let me ask the person who put the question to me, if this does not succeed, what do you intend to do? [Applause] Will you continue waiting without doing anything? We must have confidence in God. One day, we should be able to visit South Africa. The whites of South Africa should come here. We the blacks should go and see our brothers there. I received Tambo, their leader [of the ANC] at my table recently. I asked him when did you visit home last? For more than 30 years, he has been living in palaces in Zambia, Tanzania; he does not go home. [Applause] Come, we need an active solution and we are prepared even if we are small. We have our word to say.

Before concluding, I better speak of the issue of Ivory Coast's stand toward Israel. Let me make a preliminary declaration: As long as I remain the head of state of this country, Ivory Coast, we will adopt the same position and those who will come after me will do the same. We do not make our decisions because of prestige. This is not (?habit). Ivory Coast is not involved in the race for prestige. I do not preside over any organization in Africa. Presiding over the destiny of Ivory Coast is (?enough for me). It is therefore not a problem of money. Ivory Coast has borrowed money from banks for its developments and it is paying it back. But Ivory Coast has not approached any race to ask for anything whatsoever. We want to cooperate on the basis of absolute equality and respect for our dignity and this must be reciprocal. Even the coal-merchant must be respected. [Applause] It is therefore not because of money that we adopt positions in Ivory Coast. We do so only because of concern for peace. Even if our neutrality can preserve us from a general conflict, we will suffer from it. We still need outside help for a long time. This help will stop if the foreign countries are at war. We experienced this in Ivory Coast during the last war when France was occupied. Everything slowed down in this country. Our development even stopped. And this applies to all countries.

Therefore, when in 1973 As-Sadat asked us in Nairobi to break off diplomatic relations with Israel--he later left us and it was Mubarak, the incumbent president, who represented his country up to the end of the OAU conference--I was the last to sever relations with Israel 3 months later. I submitted our decision to the National Council which is the supreme organ of our organization in the interval between two congresses. Some pertinent questions were posed to me. It was hard for me to answer when my brothers asked me to tell them what was the dispute between me personally and the Jews of Israel. There was none. I was first of all a medical doctor before taking over the chieftaincy after my brother's death in (?1939). I attended to a Jewish patient called Leon Robert who later became my best friend. It was he who led our youths to France in 1946 and who helped them. He became their spiritual father. Although he was from a great family, he preferred to be buried at Man in Ivory Coast. This is a place of pilgrimage for all our youth. [Applause]

You know that during my political struggle, all the French were not against us. Some of them were on our side. I have already talked about Latrille and we had people like (Renac), Commander (Plit), and many others who were Jews and who supported us. When I entered parliament in Paris after my election, I had some French friends some of whom were Jews. I had some Jewish friends. I visited the United States in 1957. The first person who welcomed me there was Rene Meyer. He was a Jew. In private circles in France, I had friends like the Rothschilds. What must be understood is that many wealthy men, who did not even know how many billions they had, honor me with their friendship but I, Houphouet, never received a cent from them [Applause], people like the Aga Khan and the Rothschilds. I even maintained good relations with the Count of Paris. But there never was any personal money transaction between them and me--not even a cent. The Jews of Israel, Mrs Golda Meir--the woman whom Ben Gurion used to call the first man of Israel--paid many visits to this country and to Geneva. The present defense minister, who was a former Israeli prime

minister, paid me two visits. What did I tell them during these visits? I made a statement here. What did we discuss for a long time? As far as the Palestinians are concerned, [the Israelis] said: We are going to take humane measures in the interest of the Palestinians. We heard this for 20 years at the United Nations but what are these humane measures? No one had ever defined these measures. I was the first to talk of national rights. Before me, people talked about legitimate rights. And As-Sadat had asked me, through his ambassador in Ivory Coast, to clarify my position. I answered that as long as the Palestinians' national rights were not recognized, there would be no peace in the Middle East. My Arab brothers, it is necessary that everyone should admit his mistakes. After this, all of us should look for solutions. Although it is small, my voice also can count in this matter. Let people respect me! [Applause]

What did the Arabs do at the time of division of Palestine? When Palestine was cut into pieces, the Arabs accepted their part. Egypt took the Gaza Strip which did not belong to it. It is Palestinian land. Trans-Jordan does not belong to Jordan. It is Palestinian land. They accepted it. Why? I said no to the four parties who were sharing Palestine. There was Egypt and the Palestinians. The Palestinians and the Arabs are the same. Whether they are Christian Arabs or Muslim Arabs, they are the same. One part was given to the Israelis and the other part should have been given to the Palestinians. This part was snatched away. And what are some people asking for now? The restitution of the Gaza Strip and of Trans-Jordan in order to give it back to the Palestinians some 30 years later. Why did people not accept this right from the beginning? Why did people not refuse? This portion of land did not belong to them. Everyone must admit his mistakes.

We must struggle to ensure respect for the United Nations' unanimous decision calling on Israel to restore the occupied territories. We are doing this and we will continue to do so. But we cannot be more royalist than the king. It was Egypt which asked me to sever relations. And I told our Tunisian journalist that I had written to Bourguiba. Why? Because when I was severing the relations, there were many of our friends who had no relations with Israel. It was a gift that cost them nothing. They were asked to sever relations and they said that they have broken off. What did they break off? [Applause] As for me, I had relations with Israel. I had a building there. At that time, I visited the Arab part of Jerusalem because the King of Jordan had asked me to go directly there to visit the Christian holy places without passing through Israel. I have an embassy there. My embassy was build in Jerusalem. We have left it.

When I was left alone, I talked to Morocco. I explained the situation of Ivory Coast, on the relations between men, between parties: Leon Robert and others were members of the RDA [African Democratic Rally] in Ivory Coast. I said that I was very much pained by the situation. We are not used to betraying our friends. It is very difficult. We widen the circle of our friends every year, and we will never betray our first friends. But we had to make a solidarity move. Boumedienne, to whom I talked--before his death; we had become close friends after our meeting in 1973 in Addis Ababa where we explained our actions to each other--said to me: Do what you can. Of course we

(?knew) we were obliged to break off ties [with Israel]. I sent a letter to Bourguiba asking for advice--he is here, he is an Arab who is with me. [Sentence as heard] Bourguiba told me with his specific wisdom: We are in a difficult situation; I have personally recommended the dialogue, but I have not been followed. As the country is occupied, we are obliged to show our solidarity, and as an African, and in view of your influence--I am credited with too much; if I am influential, it is at the level of Ivory Coast--if you do not break your ties, people will say Africa has not broken off ties; we have fanatic brothers; I know you have your conception of life. As a matter of fact, I have not chosen my birthday; I can hardly choose the date of my death. It is a certainty and no one can hasten it or delay it. If it is destined that I will die... in spite of the CIA, Kennedy had died; but America lives on. In my prayers to God, I have always said: If I were to present myself before You after making this sad choice--I'd rather present myself as an assassinated person than as an assassin. [Applause]

So Bourguiba told me: We have fanatics; even if you were not the person hit by bullets--because the same weapons are being used--you would suffer as I know you so much, if one of your representatives was murdered. We see what is happening now. You would suffer so much. This is why I ask you to break your ties since a solution should be found some day. At the National Council, when I was asked whether there is a difference between Israel and Ivory Coast and that I answered negatively, I was forced to tell them what advice my elder and friend Bourguiba had given. Bourguiba had added: Live, not just for Ivory Coast, but also for Africa, and perhaps for the whole world some day. You must live. My brothers, who had been skeptical, now accepted this advice from Bourguiba. They said, it is very difficult for us: to break with men who had done services to us, with whom we fought together for the decolonization of our country; but listen to Bourguiba's advice and break the ties. And I did so.

When As-Sadat went to Jerusalem to resume the dialogue with Israel on the recovery of Egypt's territory under occupation, that is the Sinai, I wrote to him, telling him: you must free the African brothers who had shown solidarity with you. He answered: Yes. But they must wait; my Arab brothers have not understood me. They do not even believe that the evacuation [of Sinai] may take place; they are skeptical. As soon as the Israeli occupation of the Sinai ends, I will heed your advice and each of you will be free to make his own decisions. Unfortunately, he died in the meantime. That is the situation.

The congress had allowed me to agree to establish relations with all countries that would wish to do so; people should not however, think that this means we are about to resume ties with Israel. Israel has not yet asked me. Concerning the resumption of ties, it is not only with Israel.

You know that we have closed down our embassy in Russia. We were the first African country to establish ties with the Russians. But then the Russian ambassador in Abidjan went out to our farmers in the region of Abengourou saying: the man whom you have trusted for so many years is doing disservice to you; he is not defending the prices of your products; he connives with the imperialists to steal your cocoa. My brother farmers said: We have known him

for a long time; in 1932 he defended the prices of cocoa while he was a doctor. I wrote the first article: We have been robbed too much. I defended my brothers. I organized the cocoa strike in 1932; 1932 is not 1985. So they said: we know him; we are going to brief him on what you have just told us. They came to inform me.

They came to inform me of it and I called the Soviet ambassador in Abidjan--not to the office but to my house. He came with someone. With the Soviet ambassadors, one never knows who is the chief, whether it is the driver or the other. [Laughter] However, I told him about the advice he had just given to my brother farmers of Abengourou. I told him: You have a good opportunity to prove that you are not like the imperialists who have been looting us. You buy irrespective of the price--and even now, in spite of the break [in relations], they continue to have at least between 10 and 15 thousand tons of cocoa from the Ivory Coast--you have got a very good opportunity. Give us a good price and we will be the first people to sing praises of the Soviet Union. [Laughter and applause] But you, what do you pay us? The same price as the imperialists that you denounce. And this is what I made my brothers to understand. And I thought they were going to end things there. But this was misjudging the Russians.

Shortly after that, it was the turn of the workers of the secretariat of the Association of Ivorian Workers. They told him off. He did not know that these were sincere militants of our organization. They came to inform me about that. And I said there was no need because they had answered him as they should. After that, it was the turn of the students--our hope. Those on whom we base all our hopes for a prosperous, free, and fraternal Ivory Coast. It was dangerous. I am telling you honestly that I told them that they did not know the field and they did not know the men. I know that they [Russians] are experts in espionage and counterespionage. I told a group of these students to visit him. He received them. To know exactly what he wants to get from you, tell him that you are against Houphouet and that you are anti-Houphouet and that you do not want this man. To these students, he opened himself and told them what they should do: Your farmers do not understand anything. The same thing applies to your workers. You must consider yourselves the spearhead in the struggle for socialism in Africa. You must therefore go to see the young soldiers and so on and so forth. Mobilize them in order to overthrow Houphouet, this slave of the imperialists. I understood this. They came to tell me this. After they finished they told him: We are obliged to tell you that we are sincere. We are not anti-Houphouet. We have just come to consult you and to simply learn what you think about our country. We are going ... they were not far away. They came directly to my house and I called my ambassador--Usher Assouan--and told him that I am giving the USSR ambassador 48 hours to leave the country. For a long time, the Soviet Union has not given us even a matchstick. [Laughter] I was following their steps. With them, like the crocodiles of Yamoussoukro, I was sleeping with my eyes open. So, let them leave. [Applause and laughter]

They (?wrote) through the intermediary of the French ambassador to Moscow to say that it was the Americans who set a trap for them and their ambassador fell into it. We will not break relations if they accept the present conditions

which I have just defined: noninterference in our internal affairs, the respect for our regime of liberty and of peace as we will respect theirs. Only in this way can they rejoin us. We have Yugoslavia, Romania, and other Eastern countries. These people do not want to transpose their system onto our country. We are not anti-communist. But we do not want communists in our country. These are two different things. Communism is good for them. They have made immense progress since 17 October in old Russia which was the least developed country in Europe. And in the field of armament, they are a great power. [Laughter] But we want to remain what we are. As you can see, the position of Ivory Coast is clear. We want to freely enjoy our rights of an independent and sovereign nation. We want to be able to freely express our opinion on and our appreciation for all major problems of the world, because we are also citizens of the world and everything which concerns the world concerns us, too. Who can doubt the humanism of Switzerland--the country of the Red Cross. The Swiss ambassador who has just left me, where did he go immediately? We went to Pretoria. He was accredited there. We must be free. For example, how can our Arab brothers give billions in loans to France without asking France to break relations with Israel? Why then should they ask us, who have not received anything from them, to break with Israel? [Applause] I will not accept this complex. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, does that mean that today you are going to renew your relations with Israel?

[Houphouet-Boigny] What? I did not hear you.

[Reporter] Mr President, does that mean that today, you will resume diplomatic relations with Israel?

[Houphouet-Boigny] Israel has not yet requested the resumption of diplomatic relations. It has not requested it. I said that the congress authorized my government to examine all applications which will be addressed to it for the restoration of diplomatic relations in the conditions which I have clearly defined. We have not yet finished the congress and Israel has not made any request to us. And I cannot answer you. Perhaps Israel does not want us. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, Africa seems to be divided on the project of the creation of a League of Black African States suggested by President Mobutu. I would like to know the position of the Ivory Coast on this problem.

[Houphouet-Boigny] I do not believe that black Africa is divided. I told you... I related to you the difficult struggle we had to arrive at the creation of the OAU. It is a very good idea. But it must be analyzed. There are several aspects of it which must be examined seriously. Surely, at the beginning what was said? African states, that means something limited because there are laws everywhere. Because there is the Arab League which puts the Arabs together. Because the Arabs belong to the Arab race and have only one religion--the Muslim religion. We the blacks have our skin. It is the cement of our unity in this sphere but we are divided into several religions. This must be worked out seriously. We belong to different religions and I do not like

short-lived associations. In Europe, people talk poetically about roses which live only for a day. We do not have roses but we have the straw which gives us light. But you know what a straw is. Its fire goes out quickly. I only want to indulge myself in an issue which is examined seriously and once I am committed, I keep to the issue. Up until now, my brothers have not given me this constant stand. I have created organizations... the African and Mauritian Common Organization which has rendered services to everybody. They abandoned me. Mobutu's league is a very good idea. As I told His Holiness the Pope, for the best grain of peace and solidarity which he is sowing across the world to germinate happily and grow fully, we must prepare the field on which it can thrive. I am not therefore against the idea. I will meet him [Mobutu] also and discuss this with him. I will ask him questions to that effect, so that together and in a spirit of brotherhood and friendliness we can prepare this path. As long as the path is cleared ... I am 80 and I must think seriously before I make a step. [Applause] I have just told you that ... What will you answer ... When you have your league of Black Africans... the blacks who are in other African countries and have no rights will probably ask to join you immediately when there is a league; in this case, will you refuse them? There are the black Americans. Certainly, they are in a very big country, but the league of the skin can interest them, too. And what if they want to join you ... what are you going to do. Will you refuse?

And even among ourselves--I do not want to mention countries--how many black Africans are fighting between themselves? I do not want such organizations which begin from the top. We began with the Entente Council and ended up in forming the OAU. But these organizations set up from the top and which are not on sound and solid bases pose problems. Blacks who want to go into the league must first be united within their countries. At the moment, do we have this precondition? We do not. And what will the league achieve? By simply looking at ourselves, do we need ... in the night one can distinguish a black man by his flat nose and one does not even need to ... [Laughter] We do not need this. I agree but I want to study the proposal first before giving any answer. Africa is not divided but we must study...

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, what is presently the state of relations between Libreville and Abidjan, and on the other hand between Abidjan and the other countries of the Central African subregion, in particular your stand on the Chadian problem?

[Houphouet-Boigny] Relations with Libreville are excellent. Let me tell you something. Of course we have respect ... We say that the dead cannot speak. But when a will is made, we respect it religiously. When the brave aunt of Sekou Toure recommended his [Sekou Toure's] grandson to me, despite all that Sekou said and to which I never replied ... there was a sort of love-resentment between us. Of course, this can lead to suffocation but I am still alive. So, Leon Mba, my friend who was sent into exile by the colonial master during the political struggle and who I brought back to his country, entrusted the young Bongo to me. He said: He is not from my tribe, but I have confidence in him. If I pass away, you should support him. And this is what I did up until today. Therefore, the relations are more than cordial between Bongo and myself. Our two countries cooperate closely. Of course, you put

the question rightly because the issues of Air Afrique, OCAM [African and Mauritian Common Organization], and so on, but this is nothing. Relations with Libreville are very good. I told you that it takes two to love. When our love is returned, we are very happy. But then it takes two to hate. The Ivorian will never hate anybody. [Applause] The Ivorian hates hatred. [Applause] So we maintain good relations with everybody. They have their domestic problems and we do not interfere in their domestic affairs. We are cooperating with them at the levels of the Entente Council, the CEAO [West African Economic Community], ECOWAS, UMDA [West African Monetary Union], and Air Afrique. These are ties which are sacred and very useful and which we must maintain for the great benefit of our countries. I do not have any enemy. Ivory Coast has no enemy, the congress has said it. We are the friend of everybody and nobody's enemy. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, on two occasions you referred to the demise of OCAM as if you are disappointed. You have just mentioned the example of the Entente Council.

[Houphouet-Boigny] Yes. It is not a disappointment. It is a fact. I discovered that we could not go until the end.

[Unidentified Reporter] Yes, but Mr President, I am not interrupting you. But then you mentioned the CEAO, the ECOWAS, and the Entente Council. You took a very active part in the formation of these organizations. Then, concerning the issue of integration at the level of the subregion, what is your balance sheet on this issue and what are the prospects for this integration?

[Houphouet-Boigny] I told you that at the OAU we had the basic principles--the state, respect of the borders, and well defined objectives. On the issue of complete decolonization, we still have Namibia and we are asking that everything is done to enable our Namibian brothers to gain their independence like us. Now, there is the economic problem. It is a vast problem that necessitated the Lagos meeting. And we thought that on this issue of economy, we need a limited approach. We cannot build a single economy at the level of an entire continent. It is not possible. It will be achieved through cooperation among the regional economic groupings. It was in that spirit that we first created the CEAO and the CEAO must give way to the ECOWAS. The CEAO includes seven countries: Mauritania, Mali, Upper Volta [as heard], Niger, Ivory Coast, and Senegal. On the contrary, ECOWAS includes 16 states which transcend linguistic barriers. We have the Portuguese-speaking countries, the English-speaking countries, and the French-speaking countries. We are aspiring to a common market. But here, too, we need to have much patience. We want to go too fast. Here we mix up speed and precipitation. One cannot speak of a common market without the free movement of persons and goods and you understand ... For 2 years now, some borders have been closed. We must be patient. With patience, we will succeed but it is not easy. So, we are having limited common markets at the regional level.

Central Africa will do the same thing as we did. There will be coordination among us. We hope that on the side of the Frontline States, which should not spend 20 years thinking of war but must begin construction, they will set up

an entity similar to ours. We will thus be able to cooperate with the Front-line States on the economic--and not battle--front. This is our hope. But we do not just content ourselves with entertaining hopes; we also work toward this goal. You know, the world was not created in 2 days.

[Unidentified Reporter] Do you believe Ivory Coast will possibly have diplomatic relations with South Africa?

[Houphouet-Boigny] What? What did you ask?

[Reporter] Do you think Ivory Coast will possibly have diplomatic relations with South Africa?

[Houphouet-Boigny] We will examine this issue. I told you that the decision has just been made. I cannot hinder the action which the whole world is now undertaking to force South Africa to revise its position toward our brothers. This is not the moment for us--even if we wanted diplomatic ties, this is not the time. We must wait to see the result of this new experiment. Everyone must be sincere. We know certain things. Do you know any Western country, the United States to begin with, that would like the Communist influence--the Russian influence--to be established in Cape Town? Never! If they do not tell you this, I know it and I am telling you. We will wait and see: If the move fails, I will make some proposals. But now, I endorse the measures that have been taken. I do not think much about these measures; but I will not jeopardize the move through a particular attitude.

[(Anthony Wells), DIE WELT, FRG] [Words indistinct] the one-party system in Africa. Can one conclude that there is no room for a multiparty democratic system in Africa? Secondly, you are considered as the champion of a model which has achieved a remarkable success in close cooperation with the Western world, and France in particular. But in Africa, there are other models: there was Sekou Toure's model. There is now Burkina Faso, and Ghana: what do you think of these neighboring countries and their present policies? Third and last aspect of my question: Your privileged relations with France have made French-speaking Africa, and Ivory Coast in particular appear to the other European countries, the FRG in particular, as France's reserved territory. Can a country such as the FRG [words indistinct]?

[Houphouet-Boigny] I will answer your three questions. Firstly, you have spoken of the one-party system. I have said that Europeans should get rid of their culpability complex: they are accused of having balkanized our countries. It is not true. They helped us. For everyone, there was no Ivorian nation, no Senegalese nation, no Ghanaian nation,... I can continue with the list. There were only tribes, with different dialects, and different customs which the colonial rule grouped together and which became states on achieving their independence. To reach the stage of nations, these states have a long way to go. Bolivar undertook a great action freeing large parts of Latin America under Spain; but he could not maintain these various parts under one state. They were broken up into small states. Concerning us, I mean the Ivorian model, it is the same thing with all other models, because the same problems are posed everywhere. We are 60 tribes, we could not understand one

another. We had different customs. It was even difficult to find a name. This is why the French avoided giving rise to jealousy and gave the country the name of the major commodity which served in the commercial exchanges: ivory; that is why they call us Ivory Coast.

So it is incumbent upon us to achieve what others took centuries to achieve. People think the nation is built with mere words, by saying the Ivorian nation. No, it is a long and exacting task. Meanwhile, we will soon speak of Chad with its various factions. What do I mean? When we speak of Ivory Coast today, I am a member of the largest tribe compared to each of the other tribes. But compared to all the tribes taken together, mine is a minority. This is what makes our strength in Ivory Coast. According to an American economist, there are two types of men: those who want to be somebody, and those who want to do something. In the Ivory Coast, if you want to become somebody instead of beginning by doing something, you must count with everyone. That is our force. Our movement is the melting pot for this unity. But tomorrow, there will be different political parties. We are not building for eternity. But at this time, another political party in the Ivory Coast will mean a tribal entity, which I reject. I have known many countries. My Beninese brothers are here. There was a north, a center, a south. I am their elder, they are members of the party; I had been unable for a long time to bring them together for a common and decisive action. One day at a meeting, I told them--Maja [a former Beninese president] is here: Like poles repel; you Beninese are so intelligent that you cannot stand one another and you all want to be the head. You need a fool like me to lead you. [Laughter] Well, my brothers, we must first achieve national unity.

Now, the French Socialist Party has members in Corsica, in Provence, in the north, in Brittany, in Normandy. This also goes for the other French parties. But at this point, if we engage ourselves in the multiparty system, there will be a Baoule party, a Bete party, a Gouro party. We do not want this. We first want to be Ivorians. [Applause]

This is why we are attached to the single party system. It is said in our constitution that there will be many parties when the conditions arise. They do not yet exist. We do not want division. It is the party of unity. It is the struggle for national unity. We do not want to further embarrass ourselves. There are already the quarrels between generations which we are overcoming [words indistinct]. Gradually, the elders have left their places for the youth in Ivory Coast. That is the beauty of our party. We know how to leave our places for our sons and grandchildren. In this way, we will succeed in avoiding the quarrels between the generations. If you talk of democracy within your multiparty system [words indistinct], the Russians also claim to be democrats. Everybody claims to be a democrat. Therefore, there will be many political tendencies. We have almost achieved unity and we have almost gone beyond the tribes. Quarrels between generations are practically nonexistent in our country. Do you want us to introduce the multiparty system with the creation of the RPR [Rally for the Republic], the Socialists, the Radical Socialists, the Giscard Group, the Lecamuer Group? No! [Applause] This is a luxury we do not want! Have I finished answering your question?

[Unidentified Reporter] I have also asked a question concerning cooperation.

[Houphouet-Boigny] The problem of cooperation exists and we are on the path of cooperation. Ivory Coast could have said: I want to have my own currency. But we were of the opinion that we should be together. Ivory Coast controls 60 percent of the foreign currency of the West African Monetary Union [UMOA]. Sixty percent. Many of our partners have 10 or 12 percent but we are all together and this foreign currency is used by all for their harmonious development. This is real cooperation. You always sing cooperation, cooperation. Did you (?desire) cooperation? One must say things as they are. Cooperation is a rendezvous of give and take. When General De Gaulle talked to me about cooperation for the first time, I told him: General, I know that you want to respect our dignity. This is why you are talking of cooperation. At the moment, you are sending us at our request teachers, doctors, and engineers. What are we sending you in return? Nothing! It is an assistance. We are not afraid of this word. However, we are determined to work in such a manner that we will not be like the Dead Sea which receives water from the River Jordan without allowing anything to go out. No! Tomorrow, this cooperation must lead to exchanges. We have just taken the first step after 25 years, we who were the last in Africa. As I have told you, we had nothing at the time of independence. We did not have even ... [break in thought] We had 46 students. Today, we have 12,000; this is only those on scholarship. In the past, we sent 100 students to France to study in the colleges and high schools. Today, there are 240,000 students in our high schools. In the past, we did not have a sufficient number of students in the last class in high schools. [passage indistinct] Today, we have 1.2 million persons who have reached that class. That is development as we see it. And this must enable us to cooperate. France is cooperating with us and cooperation has an end: to train men who are capable of replacing you in the future with the same efficiency. This is what you have just achieved after 25 years. We asked France to allow us to send back some of its technical assistants after paying a deserved tribute to them. Since cooperation has achieved its objective in certain sectors like literature, philosophy and other disciplines, we are going to ask France to take back those teaching these subjects. They will be sent to other places where education is not sufficiently developed. [Passage indistinct] Besides, they are paid better than our nationals. The young men they trained have replaced them in the sector in which they served and this was often in the field of education. That is cooperation.

As for economic cooperation, I have already talked about it and I do not want to return to it. We are cooperating even in the field of transportation: Air Afrique, currency, UMOA--we are aspiring for a common market--West African Economic Community, and Economic Community of West African States. [sentence as heard] We are waiting for the others to make a gesture so that we can coordinate all these activities. We cannot act alone. It is necessary that the others should understand the need of working for development. Besides, one day this will be one of the solutions of our problem with the whites of South Africa. I wish that very rapidly, our brothers--not only those living in the countries bordering South Africa but all the other Africans--will take part in the data-processing revolution considering the enormous assets at their disposal. They will take part in the data-processing revolution. Our children

no longer need to learn about the steam engines of Denis Papin and others. These have been overtaken. They have assets and they are going to reach the level (?formerly occupied) by the major developed countries. At that level, cooperation among African countries will go beyond the African framework and will be extended to the countries that trained us. At that time, you will have the right to talk about cooperation with African countries. For the moment, the Africans are receiving assistance. And as I have told you, this is not pleasant for anyone because both those receiving the assistance and those giving it are tired. [Applause]

[Many reporters ask questions at the same time and the head of state stops them and says]:

[Houphouet-Boigny] You asked me a question and I do not want to shirk it. You wanted to know whether our countries were France's preserves. This is an insult. It is an insult for France as well as for us in particular. Cooperation has become the golden rule in (?the world). This question amounts to a misappreciation of the means at the disposal of the various countries. Despite all its good will--and it has it--France is incapable with the means at its disposal to satisfy the needs of we who emerged from its colonization. Even America cannot. France is even sometimes obliged to solicit other peoples' actions in our favor.

We are not a preserve. France did not guarantee that there would be no political risks, therefore the big French capital investments did not come into our countries. Yesterday they were in (Bandouli) and other places. They lost everything there but they did not want to come to us. It was the small Frenchmen who had confidence in us. It is thanks to them and to true cooperation--without having a single liter of oil, without a single kilo of copper, of manganese, of uranium, of bauxite--it is thanks only to the work of our farmers, that we have attained this result. I was in the French government. There was once a debate which had been dragging on for more than 1 year. It concerned the issue of France asking its partners of the Common Market to assist in the building of road infrastructures in Africa. The Germans asked the question: To transport what? We had no answer to give. You see, Guy Mollet, who was president of the council, asked me to return to Paris. We were in the midst of a campaign. It was Maurice Faure, who is today I think chairman of the foreign relations commission in Paris, who was secretary of state charged with following the Common Market problems on behalf of the government. We went to the meeting. It was (Spax), who was former Belgian foreign minister, who presided over the meeting. I was asked to speak and I said, after paying tribute to the Germans--a country with a very high sense of practicality, a highly developed country--and I told them that to discuss this issue, we have to refer to events of some centuries back, at the time you had your Black Forest, because they have stopped being black, they are white now. I asked them whether their peasants in the Black Forest would have been able to settle down without having previously made a path or a road? In Africa and in developing countries, road infrastructure precedes the settlement of farmers. It comes before production. If you help us in constructing roads, then our farmers will settle down in order to produce because after all, the roads will serve in the transportation of their products. They stopped me and

said: We should have given you the roads earlier and we would have avoided this dialogue between the deaf. We are convinced. So, since that time, France has asked its partners to help us. It knows that it was not a question of desire but rather capability. It was alone and we were many countries which were colonized by it. Today, we maintain relations with all the others including West Germany which did a lot for our northern part of Ivory Coast. We are therefore very grateful to it. West Germany built the San Pedro port. How then are we a preserve? You have to watch over ... [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, some few years ago you had harsh words for the raw materials marketing institutions. Have you changed your stand toward them? Do you believe that the international raw materials agreements are satisfactory?

[Houphouet-Boigny] No, I must recognize the very meritorious efforts made by our associates of the Common Market--the Europeans. We signed agreements with them: Yaounde I and II, Lome I, II, and III. The Europeans of the Common Market committed themselves to guaranteeing a just remuneration for our raw materials. We are grateful to them. They even provided for the Stabex [Export Stabilization Fund] in case our earnings do not correspond to our expectations, a part of this difference will be paid by the Stabex. But unfortunately, it is not their fault and I am happy that you asked me that question. We do not have exchanges with the Europeans only but with the whole of Europe, with those that are members of the Common Market and with America. This is the drama we are witnessing. At the European level, the Europeans are experiencing--like--difficulties with the prices of their agricultural products. I told you that every year the Europe of the 6 yesterday and the 12 today [reference to the Common Market] is facing collapse but they have taken measures that have enabled them up until now to preserve the association.

What does this mean? On the prices of agricultural products, they agreed on the need to increase the prices of their agricultural products in view of the increasing costs of production. The only difference between them concerns the percentage of the increase. The British and the Germans, who are not major agricultural producers want a small percentage, while the French and the Italians--and now the Spaniards--would, on the contrary, like to see substantial increases. The problem is submitted to the experts first. When they cannot reach an agreement, they refer the problem to the ministers of agriculture of the member-countries. When they cannot reach an agreement, the problem is then referred to the heads of state and government. At this level, thanks to the common determination to save the organization, a compromise is imposed on all sides.

We, too, have signed conventions with them. I will not even talk of cocoa, or coffee, or other raw materials. But let us talk of other agricultural produce today. Every year we hold discussions with them on the price of cocoa. We first ask them a preliminary question about production cost: It takes 4 to 5 years for a cocoa tree to grow and produce. Is it conceivable in Europe to fix the price of an agricultural produce without considering the production cost? They do not want to consider our production costs. Not being cocoa consumers, we are obliged to sell. Perhaps our children will fully control

the processing of our produce, but we have not reached that stage yet. We discuss the prices with experts, but never with ministers. Our ministers hold talks with the experts; I know with the United Nations, it is the same situation. Ambassadors at the United Nations receive instructions from their respective governments and take certain positions. When the ambassador is a brilliant speaker, he will be applauded; but this doesn't change the situation. Votes are still cast according to instructions. This also goes for the experts who receive orders. Our arguments are neglected and eventually we are forced to accept insufficiently remunerative prices because we need resources for our development. This is what we ask for but which they do not want to grant us--this really disappoints us. Since our budgets are provided for by our agricultural receipts, the cocoa season for instance lasts from 1 October to late September--the fiscal year--during this period we want them to maintain the prices which they themselves have fixed and we have accepted, though they are not remunerative because we have no choice. But they refuse, thus the prices fluctuate throughout the season. There is no crisis concerning cocoa or coffee; it is mere speculation. If there were a crisis, the price of chocolate would fall. But instead, the price of chocolate continues to increase, the price of a cup of coffee continues to increase, while the prices of our products are decreasing.

I have held consultations with great politicians and I have reached the conclusion that this situation does not depend on the American or European authorities. I have had contacts with successive American presidents who honored me with their friendly invitations; we have held working sessions with their ministers of finance and agriculture; they have always found our arguments relevant; they present no objections. However, when the time comes for a decision--I will not say they played the role of Pontius Pilate--they say: Unfortunately this is not dependent on us, but on the New York Stock Exchange, of the Stock Exchanges of Chicago, London, or Paris. But who is behind the Stock Exchange? No one. There are irresponsible persons who are unfortunately responsible for our difficulties and nothing can be done against them. [Applause] With the evolution of a different mentality, everything will change. For now there are card games; people go to the casino; we even see cockfights and snail races. It is all a question of mentality; so, what can one do?

I said that as long as the speculative spirit prevails over our exchanges, and as long as the spirit cannot be controlled by the countries of the North, nothing can be expected from the North-South conference. Nothing is to be expected. We must be very patient. We must work hard, dear African brothers. We must produce even more. Our young people must be gradually introduced into the sciences and data processing, when, tomorrow, they can ensure the processing of our produce. We hope that this tomorrow comes as soon as possible,--because today, the free market law is forced on us. What is the free market law? It is only valid among developed countries. How can you speak of a market law when one of the partners fixes the prices of your own produce and those of the goods they sell to you which have been processed from low-paid raw materials, in addition to costly services? Do they speak of this market law in their exchanges with Japan?

So work, do not cry! Be courageous; success will come. You have everything to succeed: a rich land, intelligent youth who are waiting to be asked, like the virgin land in our country--even the land of the Sahara needs only a few drops of water--to be given a chance, and it will be luxuriant again. And with the help of others, they will put their intelligence to good use. Then in 20 or 50 years, you can negotiate as equals. What is 20 or 30 years in the life of a people, when the world is billions of years old. I have already told you not to be discouraged. [Applause] I am repeating this for the benefit of the journalists. Life is a race, nobody has as yet reached the apex of this development. People are not judged at the starting point but at the finish line, and nobody has arrived yet. So, come on and run with them! [Applause]

[Question by unidentified correspondent of the GHANA NEWS AGENCY] Mr President, I think one of the ways of strengthening relations between African countries is through sports. Recently there were some incidents in Kumasi during the soccer match between the Black Stars of Ghana and the Elephants of Ivory Coast. There are fears that if measures are not taken, sporting relations between Ghana and Ivory Coast will be threatened. Could you comment on this?

[Houphouet-Boigny] Everything was blown out of proportion. When we talk about peace in Ivory Coast, peace is one and indivisible. We educate our people--and the minister of youth and sports is here--to welcome everybody who come here to play with a sporting spirit. We have never noted any such incidents. We always applaud the best players. If there has been any scolding, it has been when our players have disappointed their people and this is done verbally. No one can ever say that athletes who have come from elsewhere have been maltreated in Ivory Coast. This has not been so elsewhere. I know that even in Brazil, where Pele is the king of soccer, people die at each soccer event. Sports is a passion, and no passion is blind. [sentence as heard] We have recently seen tragedies in Belgium with the British. But what really happened in Ghana?

In Ghana, we had a return match. Ivorian supporters arrived in Kumasi, since the stadium of Accra was banned because of the bad behavior of Ghanaians. We did not ban that stadium. [Applause] So we arrived in Kumasi and played in an atmosphere of calm without any incident. Our supporters asked to return to Abidjan in their own planes, but the Ghanaian authorities of Kumasi refused. They said our supporters should go through by Accra because it is only through Accra that their departures can be checked. Our minister remained on the field with the supporters until 0400. But they finally landed in Accra with our planes. He arrived here at 0700. And since there are people who like fishing in troubled waters, there are also people who use every opportunity to steal. It is not always the cream of society from other lands that arrive here in Ivory Coast; there are bad ones too. So it was rumored that our minister had been arrested, people had been beaten, and so on. And this was enough for thieves to operate. Minister Foloko [sports minister] went on the air to reassure the Ivorian people that it was all ill-natured gossip from people who wanted to abuse their national sentiments and that nothing of the sort really happened. There was not even one altercation with our Ghanaian brothers, and that was true. But already, thieves--we did not want to publish

that--but it was these petty Ghanaians who went around with some bandits and hooligans pointing out houses of Ghanaians to the bandits and hooligans. The hooligans started looting and the police had to intervene. But this incident was blown out of proportion. The Ivorian people were not connected with this incident. All those arrested were the bandits and hooligans who have been tried and imprisoned.

Later, some people even went to the extent of saying that Ghanaians were put in concentration camps. What concentration camps? They only ran to the police stations and took refuge. Then the party asked the people not to join these bandits in the looting. They later returned to their homes. But it was rumored that Ghanaians were returning to their country. The ambassador here did not do his work. It is not right. I heard that Ghanaians had gathered in Bouake to return home, so I told the ambassador to check on this and report to me. When he arrived there, Ghanaians there told him that they had never talked about returning. They said that they were staying here in Ivory Coast. But you Ghanaians should not talk about such things. Why? Because unlike other ethnic groups, we have been coming from Ghana since the 16th century. We established ourselves here in a very large part of Ivory Coast. I, who am speaking to you, come from Ghana. One of your chiefs said one day that if Ivory Coast is so well governed it is because there is a Ghanaian in charge. [Laughter] Well, Ghanaians have come to settle here in batches over the years and have never returned home. They are at Assinie, Half Assinie, up to Grand Lahou. They all work for themselves. There is not a single Ghanaian laborer.

It is this that newspapers blow out of proportion and tell tall stories from Radio Treichville [rumors originating from a suburb of Abidjan]. There was no incident; nothing at all! That is the situation.

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President.

[Houphouet-Boigny] Yes?

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] with the other OAU founding fathers adopted in 1963 in Addis Ababa, launched an appeal for the creation of a Pan-African information agency. This agency, PANA, was established in Dakar. As of now, some 40 African member-states have ratified the convention for the creation of the agency. But Mr President, Ivory Coast does not participate in PANA. Yet it is an Ivorian, namely the director of the IVORIAN PRESS AGENCY, who, in his capacity as the president of the African Press Agencies Union, headed all the feasibility studies of this continental agency from 1974 to 1978. Also, Mr President, the absence of your country from this specialized agency of the OAU prevents PANA from benefitting from the immense economic and political prestige of Ivory Coast which is also one of the greatest meeting places of trade and communications. [Noise] Mr President, when then can one expect the participation of Ivory Coast in the Pan-African information agency? Thank you.

[Houphouet-Boigny] I have told you that we have always been present at all cooperation meetings. Some countries--I am not referring to Senegal--if they are members of one association or are members of one cooperation organization, they are not members of others. But we are members of all the inter-African

cooperation organizations. I confess that I am not aware of the case which you are referring to now. We have our minister of information, who comes from Senegal, but who is an Ivorian. I will ask him to study this question and give us an answer as soon as possible, and we will inform you of our answer. [Applause]

[(Alarghan) from Egypt] Mr President, I would like to ask a question on foreign policy. At a time when the Security Council is unanimously condemning the bloody Israeli attacks on Tunisia, do you think that this is the right time to resume diplomatic relations with Israel? As a mediator and African wise man, do you think that there might be a way of making Israel accept the policy of dialogue which you advocate and to embrace reason instead of the policy of terror and violence which it has been practicing in Lebanon, Tunisia, and Palestinian refugee camps, refusing all the efforts at peace and reconciliation? As a man of peace and a wise man, what will be your eventual contribution to the realization of the noble objectives of peace--the true combat in which Mubarak's Egypt is engaged and working against time to settle the Palestinian impasse and to save a peace which the acts of Israel have been disturbing and discouraging.

[Houphouet-Boigny] Madam, it is important to place issues in their real context. Since 1973, the African countries have broken their diplomatic relations with Israel. What has this break contributed to the solution of the problem up until now? [Applause] You talked about Egypt. Egypt has diplomatic relations with Israel. [Applause] No, we should be able to talk. We are an independent, free, and sovereign country. [Applause] We will continue to contribute more and more to the solution of the problem freely without being led into voting for the sake of voting without being able to say anything about it. [Applause]

You see, we are here as brothers. You are talking about Palestinians. You, the Arabs, do you have a Palestinian policy? [Applause] A part of the Palestinians--the majority--whose leader is in Tunis, is supported by Arabs. The majority is supported by the Arabs. What about the rest of the group...if even it is a quarter ... who is supporting it? It is being supported by the Syrians--Arabs. And what do you say about that? That is the real problem. You want to negotiate for a united Palestine. We agree with you. I have relations with 'Arafat, but what are you doing? Beware! Before the case of the Palestinians, we saw a very dignified and noble country: Armenia. It was destroyed by Turkey. For several years, we voted and they promised to reconstruct the Armenian fatherland. Nothing was done about it. Nothing was done about it because the Armenians were divided. Today, why can't Arabs impose on themselves the duty of uniting and taking a common stand in order to present the Palestinian demand within the league to which you belong? Do you think that it is not painful to us to know of 'Arafat's odyssey. 'Arafat who has not been driven away by the Israelis, but by his own brothers? [Applause]

Let us not mingle such a serious case with passion [words indistinct]. In the first place, you yourselves must begin by uniting for one Palestine and those who are outside will help you. What stand do you present to us, you our Arab brothers? Look at the Iran-Iraq problem. What do you do? [Applause] One

part of our Arab brothers sides with Iran, while the other part sides with Iraq. Where are you heading to? And you want us to follow you like that? No. We want to help you. As you help us, we will cooperate. But at least you should know where you want to go to. We cannot be made to follow like that. When someone helps lead a blind man through the compost, who then is the blind one? I have very cordial relations with the Arab world, and have the surest friendship with them. And since I want to talk specifically to the Arabs, then I must feel free to talk to them [Applause] and help them. I was able to talk to the Israelis, because they came to visit me. I have stopped doing so since the break in our relations. One day, Dr (Tassaba), who was killed--assassinated--in Spain, who acted as the intermediary between 'Arafat and myself, told me something one day in Yamoussokro. He did not know the extent of my peace relations: Ah... if we knew that you had such relations, we should have asked you not to break diplomatic relations with Israel in order to serve us better. [Applause]

We are for peace--indivisible and complete. We can contribute something; we are not overestimating our position. I am a small man leader of a small country but I feel that we want to speak with the necessary freedom because we are not moved by any monetary worries. We do not demand anything from anybody. We do not depend on anybody. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Incontestably, Ivory Coast is a sovereign country. It is up to Ivory Coast to decide and put into practice its policy. This is undeniable and nobody can contest this right. This is certain. But there is a reality which must be established. Certainly, with the establishment of diplomatic relations one believes that we can attain peace. But since 1965, Bourguiba called for the use of international legality, but Israel did not adhere to this call. He then called for the application of the 1947 border bond. Israel opposed this.

[Houphouet-Boigny] You need not go further with this. What do you do with the Europeans? With Europe and America which support Israel? Have you broken relations with them?

[Unidentified Reporter] It is matter of Arab-African solidarity.

[Houphouet-Boigny] Certainly not. Oh no, this is not the case. [Applause] This is not the case. This is not serious. No, no, no. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, Mr President...

[Houphouet-Boigny, interrupting] Finish your question please. Hello, listen, let him finish his question. I said that we should not interrupt any question. He should tell us clearly what he wants. But I think I have sufficiently spoken about our relations and the manner in which we want to maintain those relations with the international community henceforth. Do you want us to be a reduced people, a diminished country, which no longer has the right to take a clear decision which favors peace. Do you want us to be a kind of robot who will vote on motion after motion? No! No! [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, I simply wanted to say that Israel has always refused to contribute to peace efforts and that there was an Arab-sponsored peace plan recently. Though the Arabs are divided, they presented the Fes peace plan, which Israel has once again rejected. That is what I mean!

[Houphouet-Boigny] But let us talk about it too! Let us join our voices to yours, because so far it is only you who have been speaking, and within your group it is like a dialogue among the deaf. We must ... [changes thought] The Afro-Arab cooperation must be positive. You cannot ... [changes thought] whereas you do not have a clear-cut position on certain problems. There is no understanding among you. You only agree to recognize your disagreements. Now, you lead us into ... [interrupted by applause and laughter]

[John-Joseph Mbourou, Africa No. 1] Mr President, concerning the Entente Council, Mr President...

[Houphouet-Boigny, interrupting] You see, I am the leader of a small country indeed, but it is a small country which is united. Do not think that at international fora I speak only on my own behalf. I told you at the beginning that on three occasions, my people did not follow me and I yielded to them. We held our pre-congress at Yamoussoukro, my people unanimously want to become what they should be, that is a free and sovereign, people who have the right to be respected because they respect others. Why should you prevent us from talking? Are you sincere? You give billions [currency unit not specified as heard]--you have not given me any, I do not want any [Applause]--but you give billions and billions to countries which support Israel. You want to protect against the United States. But what does the protest mean? Have you severed ties with the United States? What countries are supporting Israel? It is not the United States alone, it is the entire developed world. The United States is the spokesman speaking on behalf of all. We are not children. [Applause]

We will better serve the Palestinian cause when we are free to engage in discussions. Do you know that the Israeli presidents... [changes thought] Israeli prime ministers have sought my advice in Abidjan and in Geneva where I take my rest? But since 1963, I have said nothing. I have been silent. But what have you benefitted from this silence of Houphouet's? Houphouet now wants to talk. [Applause and laughter]

[Roger Bousignon, NICE MATIN] My question will be neither a principled request nor a profession of faith. I simply want to return to the European Community and the issue of cocoa. What do you think of the pressure being applied now within the Community by Great Britain in an effort to include non-cocoa fat into production of chocolate? Do you not think that this may destabilize part of your national economy? Do you intend to react with your well-known vigor, and perhaps with the backing of your friends within the European Community?

[Houphouet-Boigny] This has already been done. [Applause] We have not waited for the congress. We have already done so. All of our ambassadors in the

field are protesting. At this time, there is only Great Britain, possibly one or two countries which do not stand by us. But France, the FRG, all of these countries stand by us. If, in addition to the fall in the prices of our products, they introduce fat in the processing, our production would be reduced. We have diversified our agricultural production, both in terms of quality and quantity. They must produce; even if our farmers are not paid a fair price, they must produce the maximum quantity. Let me tell you one thing--I have said that I do not want to sound triumphant--but how much do our farmers receive for their production of coffee, cocoa, rice, cotton, bananas, pineapples: 600 billion CFA francs out of some 1,500 billion CFA which the country earns. Even if I had oil, do you think I could redistribute oil? Do you think I could redistribute 600 billion CFA to each individual? No. That is the label of Ivory Coast. Our farmers directly receive the money they have earned for their equipment, for the improvement of their living standard for the improvement of their environment. We ask them to produce even more. Someday things will no longer be what they are today. So they must work. If they want to introduce fat into chocolate to reduce the production by one-hundredth, we will protest. What my brothers expect from me is my effort. But the results do not depend on me. We are always appealing and will continue to appeal, even in the desert, so that justice will be done. Some day, our appeals will be heard. This is why I have said to the others [the Arabs]: Do not gag me. It is not right. We must be allowed to speak now. We must be able to speak, and say what we want. We will be heard. But do not turn us into mutes. We have a tongue, and it must be used, because our tongue is free. In our country, it is said that when you have a cow on your tongue [as heard] you cannot move your tongue. There is no cow on my tongue. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, what do you think about the current OAU chairman's visit to the Frontline States. Second question: UNESCO, one of the most prestigious institutions of the United Nations, is now confronted with a very difficult problem resulting essentially from the concept of the new world order of information and communication. Can you tell us what you feel about the prevailing situation within the UNESCO? Thank you, Mr President.

[Houphouet-Boigny] You have asked two questions. We have encouraged our young brother, President Abdou Diouf, the current chairman of the OAU, to contact our brothers in southern Africa. We are doing all we can to ensure communication but we are not being met with understanding. Abdou went there with our blessings in order to try to do something; he has done his duty. You see, we were not yet independent states when the United Nations was created. The United Nations wanted to present to the Security Council and the General Assembly the problems of the search for, the defense, and the maintenance of peace and it preferred to create at the same time some technical organizations to deal with technical problems.

You see, people have been talking about UNESCO but the United States has already withdrawn from the International Labor Office. It is necessary that we be very careful. There are certain people who abuse of the fact that I am outspoken. Mbow [director of UNESCO] is my friend. He has done what he could. One should not mistake political problems for technical problems. The technical organizations are for our benefit, the developing countries. Do you think

that the Soviet Union, the United States, and France need UNESCO to promote science and technology? No! They are for us. [Applause] We must therefore deal with these technical problems. The unfortunate problem of information has been introduced. Mbow thought he was doing his duty but when one takes such a path, there are political problems which can come upon one unexpectedly. It is these political problems that are dividing the world. I denounced them in my report to the congress. It is these problems that we should increasingly avoid so that the specialized organizations may be able to devote themselves to their task of developing science and technology. The International Labor Office... [changes thought] our brothers should not be involved in such problems. I cannot say anything more than this.

There are some people who are using us and posing problems; when these problems become complicated, they back out and leave us alone. [Applause] The United States has stopped paying its subscription. Some Africans have billions and billions [currency not specified]. If they want to talk about solidarity, is this not an opportunity to replace the money UNESCO is short of? They have not done so. These are all matters which should not be discussed in the street. I have met with Mbow and I have given him my opinion. We have taken some discreet steps but the results did not conform to our expectations. It is no use discussing this problem in the public square. This was what I wanted to tell you. We are not indifferent to what is going on. We are doing what we can but ours are only small countries. One cannot hide the sun with one's hand. There are realities which we must consider. Let's not be discouraged and let's not give an opening to those who are criticizing us.

[Many journalists begin to speak at the same time]

[Houphouet-Boigny] No! All of you should not speak at the same time. I am 80 years old, but I am not tired. I will remain here with you until this evening. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, some countries in our West African subregion were recently victims of criminal attempts, bomb explosions, and acts of sabotage. On this occasion, you did not fail to express your indignation against such acts. You usually say that peace should not be a mere word but a way of behaving. Your reaction to this situation demonstrated your love for the peace and security of people. In this struggle against terrorism, what do you think are the most effective measures that should be taken in order to guarantee peace and security in our subregion?

[Houphouet-Boigny] You see, terrorism and throwing bombs do not form part of the customs of us Africa. If there is an enemy, we tackle him face to face. Peace is indivisible. Bombs do not spare innocent people. When a car bomb kills many people, the results are usually not what had been expected. This is because terrorism does not solve the existing problem in any way. We do not have the means for the struggle against terrorism. It is not an easy problem. The only means at our disposal--the means on which we must rely most--is uniting among ourselves, obtaining mutual understanding, and searching for peace among us. The spider cannot enter into a wall if the wall is not full of cracks. It is not outsiders who will throw the bombs; they will

make use of some of our brothers. I must therefore clearly state that we must work against this. Everybody is concerned, not only the authorities of the countries. The entire population is concerned. We must work to ensure understanding, tolerance, and cooperation among all of us Africans. If we are united... [changes thought] One cannot hinder the snake from going about the forest with its venom, but one should not run after it. But if we are united, the problem of destabilization by bombs will be very limited. I would not say that it will be abolished because, unfortunately, it is one of the calamities of our century.

It is necessary that we should reach an agreement on what matters most. What matters most is underdevelopment. What is essential is the creation of the condition for a harmonious development: peace among us and peace within our countries. It hurts us to see that some countries are divided. I repeat that one cannot achieve unity among countries that are divided; it will not endure because it has a fragile basis. Therefore, you journalists should help us, awaken the conscience of all parties. People should stop posing problems between individuals. There is no solution to problems between individuals. With thought and imagination, one can find solutions for the most difficult economic, social, cultural, and even energy problems, but there is no solution to problems between individuals. And it is from such problems that we suffer in Africa. Wherever people are fighting after gaining independence, they are not fighting for independence; they are fighting for power. Help us to make people understand that man dies, but the country remains, and that men should stop tearing one another into pieces. This is what I ask you to do. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, what comments can you make on the current situation within the CEAO, from the Diawara affair to the recent expulsion of the secretary general, who was appointed at the last summit? Still on this issue, and at a bilateral level, what is the state of the Ivorian-Burkinabe relations? Thank you.

[Houphouet-Boigny] I have already answered you. There has been an incident. We are a country of dialogue; we are making efforts to solve this unfortunate problem which has cropped up between the Burkinabe president and our CEAO secretary general--he is still our secretary general. We will succeed. I have held contacts with everyone. They are coming to me as the doyen in pursuit of a happy outcome to this deplorable affair. We will succeed; but let everyone help us. I have given you a general answer, saying that we entertain good relations with our brothers. They have their problems; the problem is ... [changes thought] Well, I don't know, I'd better answer you. [Laughter] I have friendly relations with all heads of state; but this is genuine friendship. Unfortunately, whenever a government changes, those who take over believe that I, Houphouet, will bring the toppled leaders back into power. That is not my business.

I am a man. As such, I must be considered under two angles: I am the man who must feel sorry over the fates of other men. Our brothers who are toppled turn to me because they know I have some resources, not vast resources, but a few resources. They entrust their families to me. I help their families. I

help them to get an education. But as a responsible man, I must also remember my position with the countries, and must respect my commitments to these countries. Many people cannot understand this.

Let us consider them one by one: Maurice Yameogo [former Burkinabe president] was a friend of mine. He was toppled by General Lamizana. For many months, for at least 10 years [as heard] [Gen Lamizana] was very cool to me--he is still alive. He thought I might do something to return Yameogo to power. That is not my duty or is it the duty of Ivory Coast. Upper Volta [as heard] and Ivory Coast are bound by history and geography. We must all respect these historical and geographical duties. He eventually understood that he had been mistaken; he later resumed very trustworthy relations with us. He eventually did better; much better--he had himself elected president of the RDA. Soon after, he was toppled by Colonel Saye Zerbo, who was very cool to me for many months; but we are patient. We will do nothing that might hamper our brothers. About 1 year later he realized this; he was overthrown by Major Ouedraogo. [Laughter] The latter, Maj Ouedraogo, was then overthrown by the captain. [Laughter] When Sankara took over, he called me in Paris where I was on a visit. I recommended stability and peace to him. I told you on the occasion of the congress and I repeat it now; on my visit to the United States at the time of the late Kennedy, I stated that Ivory Coast does not want to be a sort of oasis of prosperity, peace, and stability in a desert of poverty and instability, because under these circumstances, our oasis will gain no profit. It is the desert that might destroy our Ivorian oasis. We want to assist others so that there will be many oases of prosperity and peace and that their harmonious development will enable us to eliminate the desert areas. [Applause] So whatever the temperaments of the various men, we must accept them as they are. I do not want them to be what I think they should be. I am cooperating with everyone. So don't let the people write in the newspapers that there are differences between Sankara and Houphouet. What differences? What different ambitions do we entertain? [Laughter and applause] We have the same ambitions: the happiness of our respective countries in peace, unity within our borders, and solidarity. And I am experienced in the field of solidarity with them. Who gauges the acts of solidarity by Ivory Coast? This is our duty as the eldest within the Entente Council, and I will never shirk this duty whatever the comportment of the other men. I am telling you that there is no room for hatred in my little heart. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, you have expatiated upon a 1-party system in Africa, a question which has caused many reactions. You have also said all men, including Africans, must be accepted as they are. Concerning the 1-party system, you have told us its advantages and its disadvantages. Mr President, how did you succeed in your country, Ivory Coast, which is an example for Africa in general, and the CAR, my country, in particular in making the PDCI-RDA a mass party which works towards development, that is a great party which does not appear as a dictatorship? Thank you.

[Houphouet-Boigny] I will repeat this--I do not know if you attended our congress, but since you have asked the question, I will answer it. We use dialogue not only with the external world--African and non-African--but we also use dialogue within our own country at all levels on a permanent basis. This is how we succeed in overcoming all of our difficulties.

One day, at the entrance of the Elysee, I was asked for my reaction to the pamphlets criticizing my regime and myself. I said: You do not build or destroy with pamphlets; I will ignore these pamphlets. We have never condemned anyone because of pamphlets. On the contrary if the pamphlets were signed, they would have done me a great service because they presented very relevant criticism. I regret the fact that they were not signed. So if we have a 1-party system, let democracy be exercised within this sole party, and at all levels. Because being men, there are bound to be differences among us, otherwise there would be no need to be sitting here, then one could simply say that we were in a paradise. There will always be difficulties. But we must be patient, actively patient in order to settle all these differences through dialogue and persuade each and everyone. You see, when I introduced dialogue in my country upon independence, we held 6 days of deliberations. During the first 6 days, I asked my fellow Ivorians to freely express their views on our policy, on what is wrong and to make suggestions to me in order to improve what we were doing. I waited 6 days for their response.

Before my reply on the 7th day, I saw our then chief of staff, the brave D'Aquin. Perhaps, he is present in this hall. He came to see me and said: Mr President, I think that you are destroying your authority. There are some young men who are dragging everyone in the mud with their abusive statements and you remain unperturbed. I said to the brave D'Aquin: On the contrary, I am strengthening my authority. People must be allowed to speak. Let them say what they think. It may be that they are of good faith but are making a mistake. We must help them to understand. If they are of bad faith, since we are many in the hall, the hall will be in a position to tell them that they are of bad faith. [Sentence as heard] The next day, that is the 7th day, that is the reply I will give you.

Many of them introduced themselves by announcing their titles but I said: You do not need to tell me your titles, I know what you are by merely listening to you. And I told them: I am going to tell you a secret. I have been regularly attending a school for many decades now. But unfortunately, despite all my efforts and hard work, this school does not issue diplomas. I do not have any diploma. And all of them asked: The old man is attending a school in order to improve himself and he did not tell us anything about it? I said yes. This school is the school of life. [Applause] My dear journalist, that is it. It is the school of life. It is the need to maintain easy relations with people; understanding and respect of others; contact with other people. Therefore in a single party, you have to create the conditions for understanding, unity, peace, and solidarity. If you do this [words indistinct], you will forget the little calamities you have experienced. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, I would like to ask you two small questions. The first concerns bilateral issues. Since 3 April, Guinea has been under a new regime which proclaims free enterprise and liberalism. We are also witnessing a massive return of Guineans, many of whom lived in Ivory Coast, and who are trying to find a place in the economic channel. What can Ivory Coast contribute to help Guinea to facilitate this reintegration. That is my first question. The second question is ...

[Houphouet-Boigny] Silence, be silent.

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, you are known for your wisdom and your modesty. Some speakers, who are more eloquent than I, have said it already. But allow me to ask you to come out a bit from your reservation in order to tell us what image you would like history to give of you.

[Houphouet-Boigny] What?

[Reporter] What image would you like history to give of you?

[Houphouet-Boigny] No! I did not hear you. [Laughter] What?

[Reporter] The image you would like history to give of you.

[Houphouet-Boigny] Ah! Let us talk about the first question. The first question touches us. Because of the policy that was carried out in their country, many of our Guinean brothers took refuge in Ivory Coast. Some of them had even been sentenced in absentia. We asked them to remain here, in this brotherly country, and to work. We even admitted their children to our university and paid for their studies. One day, without previously informing the Political Bureau, I flew to Faranah, Sekou Toure's home village, in order to advise him. You were not aware of this. We thought that after this meeting, Sekou--who was very intelligent, very capable, and very dynamic, and who had at his disposal Guinea's potential resources--both human and material--we thought that Sekou could very rapidly restore to Guinea a privileged position in the comity of African nations. Unfortunately, things developed otherwise. The army has overthrown his regime. They have had contact with me. The president sent his prime minister to me and we received him as the spokesman of his president. No! We did not give any advice. We did not have to give any advice. We only made some suggestions. One does not give advice to an equal and Guinea is a country that is equal to Ivory Coast. We only recommended to them to maintain peace among themselves and peace within the country. Too much blood has already been shed in Guinea. We asked them to do the impossible in order to avoid more bloodshed. Nothing can be built on a basis of bitterness. It is necessary to transcend this and create the conditions which will enable the investment of foreign capital. They [the investors] will come if there is a peaceful atmosphere but they will not come if the future is uncertain. And we are helping them through the contacts we are making in their interest. Guinea is a brotherly country. More than 300,000 Guineans are living here with us in all fraternity. We are prepared to help Guinea as far as our modest means permit. It is for the Guineans, who have left Ivory Coast, to make their compatriots understand the reasons for our success in Ivory Coast. They will be our best spokesmen. I have already said that we succeeded solely because of the peace which has prevailed here, I would not say for 25 years, but for the past 40 years. It is not easy but it is necessary to make an effort and you will achieve peace in Guinea. With peace and your immense resources--you are potentially much richer than Ivory Coast--you can make up for lost time. Our good wishes accompany you and we are prepared to help you as far as our modest means permit.

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, I would like to ask you a question concerning your general policy report. You have talked about two Ivorians who are in disagreement with the regime. Who are they, what is the dispute between you and them, and what are you doing to bring them back into the Ivorian family?

[Houphouet-Boigny] Oh yes, they will come back. You see, we have a proverb which says that a bird cannot get annoyed with a tree. [Applause, laughter] It will return to the tree. So, they will return home. No action is being taken against them. They are flying and flying. They are compelled to fly but they will finally have to perch on a branch and the tree is there waiting for them. It is not for the tree to go and meet them. The tree is there; Ivory Coast is there waiting to receive them. Twenty thousand of our youth have been trained in various schools. All of them are here in Ivory Coast, except for the two who left. We do not even reply when they amuse themselves writing untruths. It is not necessary. No! We have no opponents. Our opponent is misery, which we must fight against. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, you have had some difficulties with President Senghor. I would say historical differences. But it seems that at that time, the relations between Ivory Coast and Senegal were somewhat less (?friendly) than they are now. Was it a problem of generations, Mr President?

[Houphouet-Boigny] Oh no! It was not a problem of generations. People have always invented problems. We have always maintained good relations with Senegal. Senghor left for France when he was very young, very, very, very, young. One can even say that he was then 6 years because when he was 6 years old, he left his family in Joal in order to enter a religious school situated a few kilometers away. As he was intelligent, he was sent to France. He was very intelligent and he became a doctor of grammar. There are not many doctors of grammar in France. And he was 40 years old when he returned to Africa. I ought to understand him. He does not have the same reactions as we. We remained in Africa for 40 years before going to Europe. [Applause]

Therefore, we supplement one another; he brings his wealth of knowledge acquired through his contacts with the French, and we bring our knowledge from our native African soil to the service of the Senegalese-Ivorian friendship. [Applause] So it is not a question of a generation gap, because the current president is younger than my first son and yet we understand one another perfectly. Senegal and Ivory Coast have a responsibility in the African Continent, and we must assume it together through the implementation of a genuine policy of peace among us, and above all, through an effective and active solidarity to which we all aspire, and then I will believe we have made progress.

[Joseph Tsala of the CAMEROON TRIBUNE] I would like us to tackle the Chadian issue, with your permission, Mr President. It is taking too long to bring peace back to Chad, in spite of OAU initiatives. Therefore, I would like to know what initiatives you, as the wise man of Africa, could take to bring Hissein Habre and Goukouni Oueddei to the negotiating table?

[Houphouet-Boigny] You are overestimating my ability. Well, in Chad for a long time--fortunately with Habre things have begun to change favorably--people

have been fighting for power. The problem today is a problem of personality. Chad was a territorial section of the African Democratic Rally. As you know, oppression during the colonial days was more acute in Central Africa than in West Africa. We therefore created a section of our party [African Democratic Rally] there and asked Gabriel Lisett, who is now in the hall, to represent our interests, the RDA interests in Chad. He was a colonial administrator--of course he was later revoked--but with his French wife, who is more African than most of our African sisters, he courageously defended the interests of Chad, until the promulgation of the fundamental law [law leading to the independence of African countries]. There were some difficulties, but it was all of us who supported the weight of these difficulties, because when many share the burden, they are not crushed by that weight.

Then came the era of independence, and Lisett, who is here, came to confide in me saying: I am not a native of the region; I have done what I can under your leadership and within the framework of the RDA. Now that the country is about to accede to independence, I would like to give my position as governor of the region to a native of that country, since he knows the country much better. There was Tombalbaye and (Toure Gaba), the two whom we know very well, because the latter was with us in Paris. He preferred to recommend to us Tombalbaye. That was where everything started: Tombalbaye was not accepted as the leader of the country. His own native black Africans were pushed into hating him. He was looked upon as a stumbling block in their way. Abba Siddick, whom I received not long ago, was a member of our political bureau in Chad, was the first to join some Arabs into dissidence in the north. He went to the north and it was he who recruited Hissein Habre. And you know the rest of the story: poor Tombalbaye was assassinated and since then peace has not returned to that country. It has been a fratricidal fight, a fight for power.

Meanwhile, Al-Qadhdhafi had annexed part of Chad--the Aouzou strip. Hissein Habre joined Goukouni Oueddei. The OAU made a mistake in failing to find a peaceful and just solution in Western Sahara through the just and fair organization of a referendum; the same mistake was made in Chad. I am sorry I did not attend that meeting; otherwise I would have advised against the creation of 11 factions. What type of factions are these? What ideology and objectives do each of these factions profess? Each one wanted power. General de Gaulle was right when he said that in politics, no problem is solved, it is merely shifted. And this is what is happening in Chad.

Today Habre is recognized by all of us as the head of state of Chad. But the country is occupied by Al-Qadhdhafi, and not by Goukouni. The problem now is how a reconciled Chad can find its territorial integrity within the framework of the OAU, because this is one of the fundamental principles of the OAU Charter. We find it hard to believe that an OAU member would systematically violate this principle. We don't have anything against Al-Qadhdhafi personally, or against anyone. In fact, it is not I who holds anything against him. At the time he wanted to be chairman of our organization, we blamed him for two things: his stand on the Polisario and his stranglehold on part of Chad. How can somebody who is accused of occupying a part of the territory of a member-state of the OAU pretend to get the chairmanship of that organization? How can he arbitrate in the Polisario problem when he already has taken sides? Those were the only reasons why I refused to vote for him, but we have nothing against him.

What we would like to ask today is, ever since Al-Qadhdhafi took a part of Chad, ever since he occupied half of the territory, how many of our Arab brothers have condemned this action? [Applause] Arab-African cooperation should not come from one side only; it should come from both sides. [Laughter] Well, during these last few months negotiations have begun. I hope it will yield results. It is not up to me to tell you here at this rostrum what the status is on these negotiations, but I think progress is being made towards a happy end. We should all wish for that. That is all I can tell you.

[Unidentified Reporter] My question will be on nonalignment.

[Houphouet-Boigny] There are very few artists who succeed in painting themselves. I am not one of them. [Applause] Such an image cannot come from myself. No. It is up to you to say what I am. I cannot say that. Now, let us tackle the most serious question ... nonalignment.

[Unidentified Reporter] While talking about nonalignment, you warned us against false ideas of neutrality, Mr President, would you please elaborate on your philosophy of nonalignment?

[Houphouet-Boigny] I said that in this world which is divided into two blocs which have been fighting for supremacy over the earth, some of our brothers who are among the most illustrious--Nehru, Tito, Nasser--tried to establish a policy of neutrality to save them from the deadly alignment with either of the two camps. Today, how far have we gone with this nonalignment? First, we began with positive neutrality which was dear to the late Nehru. But this yielded no results.

Now, we have arrived at nonalignment. After the great war [World War II], one could think of an eventual commitment of some Third World countries--the developing countries--in case of an eventual outbreak of war between the two blocs. But today, it is no longer so. Today I cannot see the infantry soldier of Yamoussoukro go to either of these two camps. We are behind. Star wars, the war of supersophisticated weapons, the war of weapons that cause massive destruction. Which underdeveloped country can engage itself in such a war which should be avoided? We do not say hollow things. If we really want to safeguard our neutrality... Neutrality has clearly-defined bases. For the first time and at the urgent request of our friend, the late Boumedienne, I attended a meeting of the nonaligned. I understood many things there. I do not agree with Fidel Castro's ideology, but when he first spoke in my presence, I was obliged to recognize his frankness. That was in Algiers. Right from the beginning, he said that he considers the Soviet Union as the best friend of the developing countries. Practically, he did nothing but sing praises of the Soviet Union--the Soviet Union which has been helping him up to today. And that is also in the nonaligned movement. And there are several others like him. We do not speak vainly. There are two nonaligned countries--Iran and Iraq--which have been fighting each other. They are two great oil-producing countries. They spend billions and billions [for weapons] because, for the mean time, no underdeveloped country knows how to fabricate supersophisticated weapons. Where do the two warring countries arm themselves?-- It is not at Yamoussoukro ... [Laughter] they arm themselves with the help of

the two blocs which supply them with their weapons. And the nonaligned countries have not been able to decide on a simple cease-fire between them. We charged my poor brother Sekou Toure--now dead--to take steps... It seems he is now replaced by Jawara of Gambia and by Pakistan. What a glory it will be for us to be able to convince both parties to lay down their weapons and hold discussions.

In the case of Israel and the Arabs, the two superpowers always decided upon the cease-fire with each of them trying to safeguard its base and influence. In that case, little money was involved. But over there [Iran and Iraq], billions ... dozens of billions are involved. They continued to sell their arms over there. Where are the nonaligned countries which buy weapons from the countries with which they do not want to be aligned? You the youth, you must think. You must not thoughtlessly involve yourselves generously in commitments which make no sense and which can create needless difficulties for us. If, really, there is neutrality, we will praise it. There is no neutrality. You know yourselves that people are allied ... everybody. There is no neutrality. [Applause]

I have also recited, like you, and like all others, at the OAU. We always hear people make reference to the policy of nonalignment. Others are amused by our behavior. They know that we do not represent anything. You must not play with words. If you want true neutrality, the bases of true neutrality exist. I have defined these to you. How can you talk of countries which have been destroying each other and which are forced to resort to two countries which they want to avoid. [Sentence as heard] They receive arms from them. Some people are fighting each other through third parties. They are fighting each other through other states. And we are talking of nonalignment. I am not discouraging anybody. I am not withdrawing from nonalignment. I do not believe in it. That is all. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, we heard Minister Fologo say at the closing session of the eighth congress that Houphouetism is a humanism. Like all other philosophies, I think that this humanism must be based on concrete experiences, and maybe even personal ones. What are the principal experiences which have led to the foundation of this humanism in you during your long life, which is rich in historical milestones, according to the editorialist of FRATERNITE MATIN?

[Houphouet-Boigny] You see, I have never spoken of Houphouetism. I have done what I could to serve my country, by grouping all its 60 tribes, by committing them to a harmonious development, by giving equal opportunity to our farmers, be they in the coastal area, be they in the north, west or east; they are rewarded equally for equal labor. Whether their products are coffee, cocoa, cotton, rubber, palm grains, they are paid the same prices and the state takes charge of providing the transportation. We do the same in the way we give our children equal opportunity, whatever their social strata. Education is free for the deserving ones, from primary school up to the university level. We practice solidarity among ourselves. I will mention a good case of solidarity toward our jobless people. They include Ivorians of the private sector and other foreigners as well. Despite slashed revenues, they contribute one-one hundredth of their slashed salaries to come to the aid of their brothers

affected by unemployment as well as their younger brothers who have just graduated from university and are still awaiting their first job. Solidarity is effective here, it is not a vain word in this country. Tolerance is absolute. We do not have any political detainees. I have never spilled anybody's blood since we assumed the leadership of this country. We have always prayed to God to let no human blood be spilled neither by me, neither because of me in Ivory Coast nor elsewhere in the world. May God make that all disputes between me and other people, between my country and other countries, be always settled in a peaceful manner, through dialogue, with the exclusion of the use of force. It may be these factors that made some people say that Houphouetism exists, but you see, I personally have never written it. I am saying this with a lot of humor but it is true. The two historical personalities who had never written a single word but are the most widely read in the world, are Muhammad and Jesus. I am a humble man. I am not on the same level of these men but I, too, have disciples. Let my disciples speak and write about Houphouetism. But do not ask me to define it. [Applause]

[John Joseph Mbogo, Africa No. 1] I have two small questions to ask you. They concern Ivory Coast's foreign and domestic policy. Concerning the Entente Council, it has been observed in recent days that there is a kind of misunderstanding as demonstrated recently in the statements of the president of Burkina Faso when he called for the creation of a revolutionary Entente Council. Do you not think that such statements are likely to break the very foundations of this organization? In other words, what are the future prospects for the Entente Council? My second question is this: In the name of economic liberalism, you opened your country's doors widely to foreign investors. This is commendable but there is a problem which, I will say, has started to worry Ivorians greatly, it is the economic might of the Lebanese community. What is the real situation concerning this problem and in case this problem does exist, how does the government intend to find solutions to reassure Ivorians? [Applause]

[Houphouet-Boigny] On the first question, you said that our colleague has expressed the desire to bring revolution within the Entente Council. Everyone is permitted to be [word indistinct] but the Entente Council is solid. It was created since 1959. It is a small organization which has demonstrated the most active solidarity in Africa. It can withstand all verbal condemnations. We do listen to them though. [Applause] He can make revolution in his country if he likes. In Ivory Coast, if we are to apply this system to our country's realities, we say that there is an unnecessary [letter] R in the word because what we need here is evolution and not revolution. [Applause] So, when our friend talks about revolution, this does not in any way disturb the sleep of any of the Entente Council members. I know them all and none is disturbed by such statements. They are all sleeping like wisemen. [Applause] The second question please.

[John Joseph Mbogo] The second question concerns the economic might of the Lebanese community in Ivory Coast. I said if this problem does exist, what is the government doing to solve it in order to assure Ivorians?

[Houphouet-Boigny] There are not only Lebanese that are here. There are many other tribes that have come to Ivory Coast. There are more than 2 million of

our brothers within our borders. Our French friends, they were 15,000 at independence. Today they are 50,000 and they are cooperating closely with us in the task of nation building in the same way as other Europeans, and Americans who came later. The problem of the Lebanese must be viewed from two angles. There are some Lebanese who have been living here for more than 100 years. Some of them were in our country before I was born. The Lebanese as well as the Syrians, as you do not know and I need to refresh your memory, were colonized by the French. The first Lebanese who settled here came as petty traders like the small Ivorian contractors. They settled in the hinterland and they traded and nobody complained about the presence of these Syrians and these Lebanese. Since the unfortunate civil war in Lebanon, many Lebanese have taken refuge here. I said we must receive them in the same way we receive other foreigners. They are sent to us by God. Unfortunately, there are among them some who engage in fraudulent activities, people who indulge in fraud, making it almost a profession. We are forced to track down such elements. I am planning a meeting with all of them and I will tell them to help us send away people whose fraudulent activities might jeopardize the kindness of Ivorians. [Applause] Be assured, we will succeed. The Ivorian tree gives shelter and delicious fruits to all those who sit at its foot. We must all maintain that tree in the general interest of all. The Lebanese will understand us and we will help them to understand this problem, in the interest of both the Lebanese and the Ivorians. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, faithful to our tradition of hospitality, the local press voluntarily gave up its place for our foreign colleagues.

[Houphouet-Boigny] You did very well.

[Same Reporter] However, I would like to ask you, Mr President, just a small question and then after me, another colleague will ask a small question. The question is this: Our country's name is very beautiful. The words Ivory Coast represent an image, as you said a while ago. We simply note that when translated at some international conferences this changes our place according to alphabetical order. Sometimes we are placed between Ireland and Israel, between Israel and Japan, between Costa Rica and Cameroon. In Italian our country's name is Costa d'Avorio; in Spain they call it Costa de Marfil; in Germany Elfenbeinküste, and I will spare you the most difficult translations. Does the government intend to state its stand on this problem of our official name?

[Houphouet-Boigny] Yes, the misunderstanding comes from the United Nations. It is a proper noun. The great America has accepted to be named after little Amerigo. It did not renounce it. As we have 60 tribes and as France did not want to make some people jealous, they therefore did not give any tribal name to the entire country. We are Cote d'Ivoire and we want to remain as such. [Applause] We are going to inform the United Nations officially as well as each of the countries with which we have relations and tell them that Cote d'Ivoire is a name and not something that can be translated whimsically in the various languages. [Applause] Do we call Sierra Leone--which means the Lion's Mountain--the Lions' Mountain? No, we call it Sierra Leone. Have confidence in me, we will protest. We are Cote d'Ivoire and we will remain Cote d'Ivoire. [Applause]

[Unidentified Reporter] Mr President, with your permission, you said that Ivory Coast is a glass house and for the past 5 hours you have been in this hall, answering questions of the journalists. Mr President, with your permission, I would like one of the local journalists to ask the last question of this press conference. [Applause]

[Jean-Pierre Aye of FRATERNITE MATIN] Mr President, although this is a press conference we have just attended, we can also say that we have attended a masterly history lecture which has reestablished certain facts, which we did not always know. Some people have written: the lack of a written history as experienced and lived by the actors of the history has given way to the birth of many stories. Thus many versions on specific facts, like that of the party, have been written, and we do not always know which is the true version. Secondly, concerning Africa, you have just enlightened us on several essential points and on your participation in major events of our continent.

Mr President, you have just said that Muhammad and Jesus did not write a book but they are very well known. But in the face of the exigencies of history, can we one day read the history of Ivory Coast and its evolution, written by the frontline actor which you have been, as well as the history of Africa or your contribution to Africa, to Africa's development, through what could be termed as Houphouet-Boigny's memoirs? Thank you very much Mr President. [Applause]

[Houphouet-Boigny] I will try to break my silence to enable the Ivorian youth to know our history. History is a testimony. I read a lot of articles written about me, about our party, about Ivory Coast's evolution, and about the Ivorian people. Many well-intentioned persons wrote misleading things because they did not know. It is time we put the record straight. To speak on the birth of our movement, of our PDCI-RDA, everything started from the African Agricultural Union [SAA]. I told you that in 1932, I was a young medical practitioner in Abengourou but in the face of the helplessness of the Indenie region, I allowed myself, with the consent of the then governor, Mr Bourguine, to call on our compatriots to strike against the sale of cocoa. I wrote an article which said in brief: We have been cheated too much. When the owner of the only printing house read the article written and signed by me, he wanted to cover for me against the anger of colonialism. But the secret was not kept for long. In Abengourou, I received a letter saying that I should come down to Bingerville and Governor Bourguine--who was later governor in Malagasy Republic because he was dismissed from here--invited me to his office. I entered his office. You know that at that time, there was a lot of apartheid. The black man had no right to any seat even in the offices. But Bourguine let me have a seat and asked whether I knew the author of the article titled "We have been cheated too much." I told him I was. He came close to me and then hugged me and asked me to continue. [Applause] But in those days, the colonial masters were very powerful. We asked the colonial masters to make roads; there were none. There was no direct road between Abengourou and Abidjan, you had to take a boat to reach Bingerville. And now all the wood cutters, the traders are all in the streets. All trucks have been immobilized because of the behavior of a small African doctor. Governor (Reste) was later called upon to replace Bourguine. He came to Abengourou. Instead of following the order of precedence which was in force at that time in the country and

which demanded that the local medical practitioner should come next after the divisional administrator, they asked to be last. After the welcoming ceremony, I was invited to the office of the administrator. The governor and his permanent undersecretary, (Delpech), were present. They told me: Everyone agreed that you are one of the best doctors in the country and that was why you are holding such high position in Abengourou. Because at that time Abengourou was producing half of the country's total cocoa production. Therefore we do not understand why we indulge in matters that do not concern you. [Laughter] Later, we both recalled this first incident and I told him I do not understand. My duty was to denounce the cheating of the farmers. We do not treat miserable people when they can feed themselves with the fruit of their labor. We would even be saving drugs. Before you came to Ivory Coast, people said you have a reputation of being a great administrator, a great colonial governor. But these colonies are inhabited by who? Not by the whites? As our governor, you have no right to act contrary to that of your predecessor when he defended us. It was thanks to him that we persisted on that path of making the buyers buy our cocoa at the normal prices. Administrator Raoul is present here. He cooperated with me. I was not given a set. Raoul said he did not know anything of what happened but when I said Raoul was on our side, he got up and I took his seat. [Laughter] So, the governor piped down and said all right, as people are complaining too much about you, you have already spent 3 years here. You will go on leave. I said I thank you. It was at that time--we were in 1932--that you will join your younger brother who is a district head and a farmer. We would like him to be associated with the joint European-African Agricultural Union. I said what does this mean? The union grouped only the most important African farmers. As for the small farmers--they were many--they were excluded. So, I told them my place is not in this association of the horse and the rider because I know the post they were going to give me. I will not accept. We were in 1932. In [word indistinct] France was invaded, goods were scarce. France could not import our coffee and our cocoa any longer because of the situation. But in order not to lose our products, it decided to grant allowances to the farmers. But, listen carefully: It was decided that a flat rate was to be paid to the European farmers no matter where the place of origin. There were consignments of cocoa and coffee which were to be burned on-the-spot.

However, arbitrary transportation costs were fixed for the indigenous Africans, as they were called at the time. Therefore, the farmer in Man, for example, would receive 10 francs if he were European, whereas the indigenous Ivorian farmer would receive only 4 or 3 francs under the pretext that there were not enough funds for transportation costs. There were other abuses but I cannot delve into them because most of you are hungry and would like to go and eat. I am not hungry.

So, I went to Yamoussoukro to join my brother and 12 years later, as I said at the recent congress, the dean, Dadie, came on behalf of his six colleagues to ask me to head a proposed African trade union, as I had proposed 12 years earlier. However, I was in a very difficult situation. I had just lost my mother, my only brother, and my eldest son. I had left the medical services to return to my village to inherit the duties of governing our village, which, as you are aware, is not normal since one succeeds a big brother and never a

younger brother. How could I leave his childless wives and return to Abidjan to head a trade union. I refused. Dadie, who was a very intelligent, and very enlightened nationalist, did not lose hope. He returned 7 days later to convince me with two weighty arguments. We are going to set up an autonomous trade union. We would like to choose for this union a man who is acceptable to both the young and the old, and by the chiefs that you saw here, and their representatives. Because until 1939, Ouagadougou formed part of the Ivory Coast. [as heard] I was the only graduate of the general government school and belonging to a family of chiefs. The others followed later. If you are at the head of this organization, the chiefs will not be made to oppose our organization. On the other hand, if we choose a young man, a young man of your generation who has been to school like you and who does not belong to a family of chiefs, the chiefs will be set against him. That is why we are asking you to make this sacrifice, though we know that you have lost your mother, your eldest son, and your only brother. They added: If you accept the responsibility that we want to give to you at the head of this organization--as believers speaking to another believer--God even though he has deprived you of three persons, will ensure that all the women who are of the same age as your mother, all the men who are of the same age as your brother, and all the children of your son's age, will give you millions of them with whom you will build Ivory Coast. I was convinced, so I came to Abidjan where we created the African Agricultural Union. A year later, for the first time, Ivory Coast was asked to send a representative to the National Constituent Assembly, because before us, only Senegal was represented at the Parisian parliament. Therefore, they turned to me, as I had proved my worth within a year as the union's chairman. I had not wanted to accept the chairmanship, not even the secretaryship but they asked me to combine both duties. They said: You are the one who should go and defend us. You are aware of the farmers' suffering. There are African farmers who are forced to go and work for white farmers for mere pittance, and all this annoys you just as much as it annoys us, therefore you must go. It was as though I had already been elected. Perhaps I had their blessing. So I proposed, that in order to remain at the head of the country, I would like to maintain permanent contact with my childless sisters, my old aunts, with my village, and with the country. I nominated some brothers whose name I will not cite here. One of them was a mulatto. They said: We do not want him; he is the son of a white man. We do not want him, simply because he is a white man's son. Another nominee was married to a white woman. They said: No, we do not want him; he is the son-in-law of the white man. You are the one we want. They met at Bassam, and Leon Amon was asked to inform me of their decision, that is, that I was to go to Paris, and that I was to represent the African Agricultural Union. I accepted upon one condition, that the Moronaba, the chief of the northern Mossi kingdom, supported me as well. They sent Ali Jerome to see the Moronaba. Both men had served together in the army.

And the Moronaba, quickly gave his opinion which was in conformity with the opinion of the other chiefs of the coastal area. But it was misjudging the impenitent colonialists of that time. They forced the Moronaba to withdraw his decision. They asked one of our young friends, Ouezzin Coulibaly, to report to Bobo Dioulasso. Why? Because they hand-picked men who were capable of accepting their dictates and pressure as electors--district chiefs, war

veterans, civil servants, employees in the commercial houses. There were 14,000 for the coastal area, 14,000 for the Mossi area, and 4,000 for the region of Bobo Dioulasso. And at the coastal area, they set 12 of our fellow countrymen against me. By chance, I met Doudou Gueye. He was a medical doctor. He was our colleague. He was practicing at the train station in Agboville. I was passing by. I informed him of my trip. Ouezzin, whom I did not know before then, was also passing by and informed him of his passing and luckily, we met by chance. He was Doudou Gueye's comrade at the (Katioudougou) Teachers School. We met at the Agboville train station. Doudou Gueye accompanied us to the border post of Dimbokro. It was there that I recalled to him the problem which was disturbing us. He was such an intelligent man with so much lucidity. He possessed a sense of reality and courage. Ouezzin said: It is to prevent someone like you from being elected that they are asking me to create diversion by coming to withhold the 4,000 votes in Bobo Dioulasso. I will not only refuse to stand for election in Bobo, but I will campaign with you. [Applause] What he said was what he did. In short, I was elected and the day I was to board the plane after being elected on the first ballot they told me that there was a message from Mankono which was misinterpreted. That is to say that there was a failure to gain an absolute majority. Soldiers were brought in, thinking that the people would demonstrate, so that these soldiers would shoot at the people. I asked our poor (Marchais) who unfortunately died recently--may he rest in peace--and who was presiding over the commission, to let me first of all talk to the people before announcing what I knew before hand--a maneuvered failure to win a majority. I told my brothers: You have voted for 14 candidates--13 against me. We won in the first round. This is prodigious, but unfortunately, they do not want me to leave. And they will soon make a decision on the matter. Do not protest. Return as one person. We will win during the second round. The country is with you. I became sad. I returned and told (Marchais): Proclaim your results. He said there is a failure to win an absolute majority. And I called (?Clain Jerome) who was there with my nephew, Jacques Ackah. I asked them to go to the shops to buy all that they could get like gas, oil and other things. I even included boards. They did not know why. After the purchases, they returned saying: We brought enough for the entire campaign. An hour later, they announced that the sale of gas has been prohibited. But we already had enough. [Applause] We left and we did not want to waste time at the coastal area.

Our brothers of the coastal area, assembled like one man and were determined to vote massively for me. We went to the north, and a few kilometers away from Banfora, in the month of December and in the middle of the dry season, we saw a bridge being carried away by the waters of the rivers. They had cut the bridge. They had removed the plans and thrown them away. But God was with us. I said: Bring down the drums. They were our gas containers. Fortunately, they did not dig into the ground. There were two or three which were full. We had the side boards, and I said: Put the boards on them. And we passed. On arrival, I saw (Boudet) at the window and said: Tell your managers who told you to destroy the bridge that we have passed and so there is no need to campaign. It is a sign which does not deceive anyone, so we shall win. And we succeeded.

My dear friends, that is how I was elected to represent the countries in the Constituent Assembly. Since we only had a trade union basis, I gave instructions so that our sections--we had sections almost everywhere--be merged into a political party, which we called--[Houphouet-Boigny changes thought] The meeting was held in my absence, but I gave instructions so that it be held because I was in Paris. So the meeting took place at the Etoile du Sud which belonged to one of my colleagues, Georges Kassi, who was one of the seven cofounders of the African Agricultural Union. This is how the PDCI was founded.

Then we got to Paris; the first Constituent Assembly which was recommended by De Gaulle and which granted us many advantages with regard to the number of our countries' representatives in the French Parliament was rejected. The champions of colonialism capitalized on this to hold a meeting in Douala [Cameroon] under the chairmanship of an Ivorian colonialist, Jean Rose. That was the general conference of colonialists who mandated a commission to the French parliamentarians to denounce us as the elected representatives of a minority, a small minority. This was true; but we did not choose the members of the electoral college. They did it; they wanted to exercise pressure and therefore only picked a handful of voters. They said we were bourgeois. Of course, if they meant me, I can say I have never said ... [changes thought] I was born a bourgeois, but a progressive bourgeois. They said: they act out of a grudge; they want to replace Europeans in exploiting and overexploiting their brothers.

They succeeded in imposing their views on men whom we respect very much, such as the late (Heriot), an outstanding authority in the then French Parliament. I will always remember the harsh words uttered by (Heriot) at the Assembly, a very eloquent speaker, a very good lawyer, but who was pleading for a cause he did not know. Anyway, he concluded his address by saying: France does not want to become the colony of its colonies. This was greeted by thunderous applause. Article 8 which was advantageous to us was dropped. So we held a meeting and we observed this: We do not have a popular base; we have come to France where three political parties have shared power--even with De Gaulle. These included the Communist Party, the Socialist Party--of course the former one--and the MRP [Popular Republican Movement]. When our doyen, the late Lamine Gueye, wanted to register us ... [changes thought] Because only Senegal was engaged in politics before we were voted into Parliament. When he wanted to register us all in the socialist party, it was I--the youngest--who suggested that we should each register in one of the three political parties if we want to have a majority that can endorse our requests, those we were going to make on behalf of our countries and our people. They heeded my advice and soon after, they all registered with the Socialist Party and with the MRP. No one went to the Communist Party. Having made the proposal, I wondered what to do. Right then, Philippe (Dabe) Cissoko, who had already registered in the Socialist Party, said: Dear brother, you cannot join me and you cannot join the others. Since you asked us to join one of the three parties, I will make this proposal to you: I am with the MUE [expansion unknown]--it was a party created in the wake of the liberation--and my friend Dassie of Algeria is president of the French Progressive Party, with De Chambrun--he is still alive--we will adhere to Dassie's group, which was already related to the

Communist group. Not the Communist Party, but the Communist parliamentary group. There is a difference. Cissoko added: you know, Lenin's followers did not come from among the Tsars' descendants--if there were any, because they were all exterminated on 17 October 1917. These are alliances like any other alliance.

I have already recalled this: French and American liberals joined Communist Russia in the fight against Hitler. And after that everybody returned to his normal way of life. Some remained liberal while others remained communist. For tactical reasons, we joined the parliamentary group of Dassie of Algeria and joined the Communist group--the Communist parliamentary group. This is what we did. But we did not have any popular base in Africa with the exception of the SAA in Ivory Coast, which gave birth to the PDCI. My other colleagues did not have any popular basic organization. We therefore planned to appeal to all French-speaking African countries from East to West and from West to East to give us popular bases in support of our action in Paris. We were 14 in number to sign this manifesto inviting the people to send us delegations in Bamako which was chosen upon the express demand of Philippe (Dabe) Cissoko. We dropped Dakar and Abidjan upon his request in favor of Bamako. They all responded to the call as one man. They came by air, on camelback, on horseback, and by bicycle. Those nearest to Bamako came on foot.

The fixed day was in October. We were informed that they were all gathered in Bamako. That was the tragedy of my life.

(Barbe), who was a communist, was in contact with us. He was even somehow distrustful of me because in the first place, though Philippe (Dabe) Cissoko and myself were district heads, Philippe had no resource in Mali. But I had my plantations and employed workers. Therefore, to them somebody who was employing workers, should be examined with suspicion. One evening, when I was on the third floor on (Vano) Street, (Barbe) entered and told me: The Communist Party has misjudged you. But today we have realized that you are the only defender of the African masses. All the rest have betrayed us, but not even intelligently. They have accepted checks instead of cash from (Mottet)--then minister of overseas territories--and we have the numbers of all the checks that your colleagues have received in order to betray their countries. It was sad. I did not believe it. After his departure, I went down to the second floor where our true brother, the late Philippe (Dabe) Cissoko, was living. I addressed him: Elder brother--because he was older than I was--this is what (Barbe) has just told me. I gather you are no longer going to Bamako and that you have been paid by check. Philippe (Dabe) Cissoko then asked me: What is reproachable in this and what is defamatory in this? This is just a simple retrieval. They have robbed our brothers so much and now they have just given us a (?small gift) like this one. [Applause and laughter] I will not blush because I received some money! They have robbed our brothers too much. I then asked him: Why did you not inform me of it? He answered: Because you are strong-headed. So, you see, the Communist Party ... [changes thought] I don't know if the journalists of L'HUMANITE are in this hall, because I invited everybody. I must say this: Since the end of my political association with the Communist Party, L'HUMANITE has never written anything against me or against my country. [Applause] We are associates.

We had a tactical alliance, but we do not have the same objectives. We were struggling against colonialism as a whole. The communists were part of the French nation. When we were fighting in Indochina, and in Algeria, the communists said they represented a quarter of the French population and so a quarter of the soldiers fighting in Indochina were communists. They were fighting in Algeria, too.

We were engaged in a struggle against France's colonial rule as a whole and not in a class struggle. Monie got killed in the civil war in Cameroon because he had not understood this. In short, the communists were still in the government, and they were in charge of defense. They proposed to send me to Bamako in a French military plane with trustworthy pilots. They said: We do not know what could happen to you on other planes. In short, before leaving, Apithy de Belin, who I mistrusted, came to say: I have also been abandoned, so I am going with you. It was only the two of us who went to Bamako to represent the 14 Signatories of the manifesto. The following evening, (Darbe), (Darbussier), and the late Ladjî Sidibe rushed over to the house of Louis Sangaret, one of my fellow students at the Dakar school. What did they tell me? That all is lost. You must return to your country. [Name indistinct] is inciting the people of Bamako to throw you out of town. But we were foreigners. We were known only by our names. We were not known in person. I thought the issue over and then said no. Let us go to the market. We went there. It was not far from Sangaret's home. About 50 or 100 meters from there I heard (?Toure) say this impossible thing: Houphouet has helped me a lot financially, but that is no excuse for me to follow or to force others to follow his hateful policy. Yet both of us were in a political alliance with the communists. He was speaking from a car with a loudspeaker in the middle of the market.

As I am a small man, and no one knew me, I wound my way through the crowd and jumped into the car. [Applause] When he had finished thinking that he had convinced his people--Jean-Marie Kone and Sangaret are witnesses; they are Malians and I will never forget that day--I asked him if he could allow me to address his people. Since he thought he had already convinced the people, the orator agreed and gave me the loudspeaker. [Words indistinct] What I was able to say that day was my only (?genuine) improvisation. What I remember is that upon my second sentence there was loud applause; throughout my career, I have never received applause like that which I was given in Bamako. [Applause] The cause was heard. The Malians, who were admirable, spoke in turn asking their leader to give up his position which betrayed African interests. It seems that he had promised everything to (Mottet) and that (Louveau), the governor, was charged with reaping the fruit of the promise. He was summoned to report to the governor's seat at Koulouba. He said: I do not know what happened to us. I was baffled by the action of my young brother Houphouet. Like an unleashed devil, he turned all my brothers against me. If I had attempted to stop him, they would have lynched me. The meeting was held the next day. We received many messages. It was precisely on 18 October, my birthday, that we created the African Democratic Rally in Bamako. But I want those who are interested in the history of our organization to understand that our movement was and has remained independent in its structure and its resources toward all French political parties.

We had agreed that we would have the masses behind us in our action and that the elected representatives could register with a political party in metropolitan France in order to be more effective in their action toward the achievement of the just aspirations of our people. Unfortunately, the others did not come. Apithy himself came but he did not ... [changes thought] Perhaps in the face of difficulties he ... [changes thought] So I became RDA president because the others had not turned up at the meeting. If Lamine Gueye, who was doubly my master--he had been my mathematics teacher at Goree High School, and he joined with us in defending the interests of our newly created SAA which the French refused to defend--so if Lamine Gueye had come, I would have recommended that he be made president of the RDA in his capacity as the doyen and the representative of the oldest country, Senegal, which had lived together with France for 300 years. He used to say with some delight that his country had been part of France before Corsica. He would have presided over the destiny of the RDA, unfortunately he was not there with me.

For those of you who write the history (?of the RDA) from 1946 when it was created until 1956 when I first participated in the French Government, Guy Mollet sent [name indistinct], who is in this great hall, to ask me to come and serve for the first time in a French government. I served for 10 years. Only the countries which have been under influence can speak. The RDA had sustained the most savage repression. You want me to write; if I should write, I would write--[changes thought] In a nutshell, many of our brothers are speaking of anticolonial struggle. Where were they at the time? They had been on the other side of the fence, with the people in power. We alone were engaged in the struggle. There are people who would like to send home the corpse of colonialists to justify their unnecessary and belated struggle.

My brothers, that is how we created that party which led all African countries, except for Senegal, the CAR, and Mauritania to independence. [Words indistinct] the current president was a member of our steering committee. These are a few details, I would expatiate even further. But since you invite me to write, I will try to write. It will be much easier. [Applause]

In concluding my talk, I would like you to (?help) us spread this message from Africa; to spread this message of humanism characteristic of our dear continent. For thousands of years, Africa has let out this message, which I ask you, young people, to translate into facts: this message of true brotherhood and active solidarity which is unfortunately (?ignored now) because of our present condition as developing countries. You must spread this message, and the sooner the better. I thank you. [Applause]

/12712

CSO: 3400/226

LESOTHO

BRIEFS

DROUGHT WORST IN COUNTRY'S HISTORY--Maseru--The Lesotho Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, has declared a state of emergency to deal with five years of a devastating drought he said was the worst in the country's history. In a broadcast on state radio on Thursday night, Chief Jonathan said only 140 000 tons of grain had been harvested this year, well below the usual national requirement of 320 000 tons. He said Lesotho's rivers, wells and boreholes had dried up and appealed for international assistance. He also asked his people to use as little water as possible.--Sapa-Reuter [Text]
[Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Oct 85 p 10]

CSO: 3400/187

LIBERIA

HARMON FORECASTS 900,000 VOTER TURNOUT

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 24 Sep 85 pp 1, 6

[Article by J.N. Elliott]

[Text] Special Elections Commission Chairman Emmett Harmon hinted yesterday that about 900,000 Liberians are expected to cast their votes during the October 15 general elections.

The figure represents an anticipated increase of about 30 percent in the number of eligible voters as a result of the additional voter's registration exercise which ended yesterday, Harmon said.

It can be recalled that the exercise was re-opened last August because SECOM did not realize the 977,826 voters the commission anticipated when the referendum was launched early last year. Only 689,929 voters were recorded by the commission at the time.

The SECOM Chairman said at a press conference yesterday that though he anticipates a 30 percent increase in the number of voters expected to exercise their franchise next month, he could not say when the voters registry will be published.

He said "we are working day and night to complete the registry. As soon as all the reports are submitted and tallied, we will announce to the public the exact number of eligible voters expected to partake in the ensuing general elections."

Mr Harmon, a seasoned politician, however, did not say how soon this will be, nor did he give a tentative day for the publication of the voters registry especially so, when elections is about three weeks away.

Commenting further on the elections process, Mr Harmon maintained that SECOM which is serving as a referee, will definitely announce the results of the elections in accordance with its guidelines.

Touching on the 300 names of nominees submitted to SECOM by the four political parties (National Democratic Party of Liberia, Unity Party, Liberia Action Party and the Liberia Unification Party) to contest for public offices during

the October 15 elections, Mr Harmon said his commission is still scrutinizing the parties lists to ascertain whether their nominees are "law abiding citizens."

He said the screening exercise will take a little time because, according to him, SECOM has to establish that the nominees have resided in their respective areas in accordance with the law; identify their properties and make sure that they have all settled their tax obligations to government.

CSO: 3400/205

LIBERIA

LAP CANDIDATE ASKS ALL PUBLIC OFFICIALS TO DECLARE ASSETS

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 26 Sep 85 pp 1, 6

[Article by Joseph Teh]

[Text] The standard bearer of the Liberia Action Party (LAP), Jackson F. Doe, has asked all individuals aspiring for public offices to declare their assets before they take up office in the second Republic, and to do the same at the end of their tenure.

Mr Doe, who was addressing the Press Club Tuesday, said it is necessary to let the Liberian people know how much wealth an individual acquired before and during his tenure of service to the government so as to ensure public accountability and establish public confidence.

Mr Doe, a one time Senator during the Tolbert regime, also dispelled the notion that the Liberia Action Party was a replica of the defunct True Whig Party.

"Unlike True Whig Party," Mr Doe noted, "LAP is pursuing its goals and operates under the rule of law."

He also decried what he described as the unnecessary banning of newspapers and said LAP would protect the fundamental freedoms of all and provide those conditions under which everyone can live and work happily.

On the issue of "Anti-intellectualism," Mr Doe said LAP does not intend to become an enemy of the intellectuals.

He noted that LAP itself is composed of many intellectuals and the party will respect those intellectuals who are law abiding.

The LAP's standard bearer then assured the people of Liberia of his willingness to work in a coalition government if his party is defeated, provided the elections are free and fair.

CSO: 3400/205

LIBERIA

NATIONAL RICE COMMITTEE

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 26 Sep 85 pp 1, 7

[Text] The National Rice Committee under the chairmanship of Commerce Minister McCleod Darpoh has announced a new sales and credit policy for the handling and distribution of rice under the PL-480 rice program.

A Commerce Ministry release issued yesterday said under the policy, only businessmen with well recognized and established rice distributing firms will be eligible to register as wholesale rice distributors with the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Transportation.

The release said such distributors must have good credit rating with LPMC and that their warehousing facilities should meet Commerce Ministry standards.

The release further mentioned that selected distributors must buy on cash basis or have bank guarantees to cover their line of credit for a maximum of 30 days.

The sales and credit policy which has been approved as part of the requirements of the \$6m agreement signed recently with the U.S. Government, is intended to ensure proper handling and distribution of PL-480 rice as well as the efficient collection of the proceeds.

The policy also requires that distributors have the capacity to store not less than 5000 bags of rice which will be sold to them at the "rate of \$21.65 ex-ship and \$22.00 ex-warehouse for 100 pound bag."

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Commerce has confirmed that the retail price of rice remains at \$23.00 per 100 pound bag and that anyone caught selling rice above the usual price will be dealt with according to law.

CSO: 3400/205

MADAGASCAR

BRIEFS

PARTY STILL REJECTS CODE--The newspaper Madagascar-Matin published on September 16 a partly-censored article on statements made the day before by the member of parliament for Antananarivo, Germain Rakotonirainy, the "number two" of the MFM-MFT party, on the investment code recently adopted by the people's assembly. He explained why his party voted against the code although it belongs to the supreme revolutionary council. Mr Rakotonirainy said the code had two major disadvantages: first of all it did not reaffirm the monopoly of the state with regard to foreign trade which he said was essential to protect nationalised businesses; secondly, it made no clear distinction between foreign investors from abroad and those based in Madagascar, an allusion to the highly dynamic community of Indian and Pakistani origin which has been established in the island for years. I.O.N.--This statement is evidence that three months after its opposition in parliament the MFM is not yet ready to come back into line over the investment code. Yet it was the leader of the party, Manandafy Rakotonirina, who submitted it to the assembly in his capacity as chairman of the supreme revolutionary council's economic commission. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 5]

CSO: 3400/191

MAI I

4TH BUDGETARY SESSION ENDS

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 4 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Djibril Dembele: "Closure of 4th Region's Budgetary Session"]

[Text] The budgetary session for the region for fiscal year 1986 took place on Wednesday 22 August 1985 beginning at 9 am in the conference room of the city hall of Segou under the chairmanship of Mr M'Pere Oumar Sanogo, cabinet director of the region's governor, who had at his side Mr Brehima Sidibe, development adviser, and Miss Assitan Sidibe, regional sub-financial officer.

As in preceding years one noted at this meeting the presence of club leaders, general secretaries of the UD-PM sections, deputies and heads of regional services.

The items on the agenda were as follows:

- 1) examination of the 1986 regional budget bill;
- 2) item of collection of taxes and dues;
- 3) item of execution of development plan (basic initiatives)
- 4) diverse issues.

After approval of this agenda and the opening address by the governor's cabinet director, the regional sub-director of finance took the floor. In his presentation, he laid out a proposed budget based on expenses of 805.961 million CFA francs compared to 721.070 million CFA francs in 1985 and revenues of 686.923 million CFA francs compared to 674,685 million CFA francs in 1985, thus yielding a deficit expected to be 121,038 million CFA francs.

At the conclusion of very fruitful work around this project, the 1986 budget for the 4th region showed receipts in the amount of 721.710 million CFA francs and in expenditures in the amount of 805.961 million CFA francs, thus bringing the deficit down to 84.251 million CFA francs.

Pursuing its work, the session was to concentrate on items of collection of taxes and dues and the carrying out of basic initiatives. Intervening on these points, the governor's cabinet director stated: "Our region has suffered the full brunt of the harmful effects of the drought, which

partially explains the slowness in collecting taxes and dues in some places, but only partially, because the drought could not constitute a pretext behind which one would hide to justify the lack of dynamism found on the level of some districts. Quite the contrary, this drought should have constituted a stimulus for the citizen."

Finally, before calling the meeting to a close at 3:50 p m, the governor's cabinet director was to invite political and administrative officials at all levels to buckle down faithfully to applying solutions and decisions made to bring in taxable material in due course. He says: "This is to face up to not only our region's socio-economic and cultural development plant, but also to come to the aid of the budgets of the other regions, keeping in mind the sacrifices that the whole nation has agreed to, aimed at the Segou region."

9895

CSO: 3419/601

MALI

AMOREM FORMED TO AID EXILES

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 4 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] Organize, rationalize and humanize the exodus of Malians in all their stages; discourage the young in the cities and countryside from going into exile; inform and counsel candidates for emigration on living conditions abroad: these are the objectives assigned to the Mali Association for the Organization and Rationalization of Malians' Exodus, whose first office was set up on 27 August 1985 and presided over by Mr Bourema Sylla.

It is this association's purpose to come to the aid of Malian candidates for exile, Malian emigres and Malians returning from exodus. Furthermore, AMOREM sees itself encouraging and coming to the aid of Malians who renounce exodus. In order to do this, it will encourage the mobilization of our countrymen's savings to be effectively used in the socio-economic development of the country. It is even prepared to aid both financially and materially the grouping of young people in the villages.

In a general manner, the new association intends to aid the authorities through acts of assistance, administration and reflexion for improvement in the socio-economic promotion of its members.

Besides Mr Sylla, the association's office includes a vice-presidency held by Mr Dially Tandja, a secretary-general in the person of Mr Kadi Drame, aided by Mr Mamadou Sylla and a general treasurer, Mr Aliou Kouma. All the members of this office have experienced exodus at some point in their lives in different parts of Africa and Europe.

There is no doubt that their action, which will be concentrated toward nationals living abroad with the sole goal of bringing them aid and assistance on the triple financial, administrative and judicial plane, will be positive.

9895
CSO: 3419/601

MAURITIUS

BRIEFS

MINISTER VISITS MADAGASCAR--The Mauritian minister for co-operatives, Karl Offman, arrived in Antananarivo on September 22 with "concrete proposals" for a first meeting with leaders of the economy and the co-operative sector in Madagascar. Since September 9 Malagasy products have enjoyed preferential treatment on the part of the Mauritian customs service, a move which fits into the plans for developing inter-island regional co-operation. A visit to Madagascar by the deputy prime minister of Mauritius, Sir Gaetan Duval, at the head of a large delegation of his country's businessmen, is projected for November. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 7]

CSO: 3400/191

MOZAMBIQUE

MNR'S FERNANDES ASSESSES MOVEMENT'S SITUATION

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 pp 9, 10

[THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER's interview with Evo Fernandes, secretary-general of the Mozambique National Resistance, the MNR (or RENAMO), on September 26 in Paris]

[Text] I.O.N.: You have just suffered a severe defeat after the capture of your Gorongosa base by the Mozambican army...

Evo Fernandes: Not at all. The offensive against Gorongosa, which was conducted principally by Zimbabwean troops after bombardments with napalm was a limited effort, without repercussions on our activities in the whole of the rest of Mozambique. In fact we consider it has been a failure for our adversaries. At Gorongosa, in the area where we came under attack, we possess four bases: 1/ Casa Banana, which was the target for the first offensive on August 28 and which we lost. Casa Banana was for us a supply centre comprising a number of farms managed by our movement.

2/ The general headquarters situated about 12 kilometres from Casa Banana was captured on September 3. It was at this base that we had our GHQ and an airstrip.

3/ The base hospital, about 20 kilometres from the general headquarters, was not captured.

4/ The fourth base, Military Academy, was not captured either. Finally, the Zimbabwean and FRELIMO troops occupy just part of the Gorongosa. They are cut off there and the offensives they tried to launch against us from the Beira-Zimbabwe railway line, from Villa Paiva and Mungoni were failures. We are continuing to harass the foreign troops on our soil and within three months we will have forced the Zimbabweans to return home. If we fail in that objective, only then can one say that FRELIMO has won a victory.

I.O.N.: What, then, in your opinion, was the objective of this offensive?

E.F.: Machel needed a victory, even of short duration, for two reasons: to re-establish a certain balance of forces at a time when he was negotiating with us, and to give the impression that he had strengthened his internal

situation before his visit to Washington. The Zimbabweans and FRELIMO know very well that this offensive cannot prevent our continued activities throughout Mozambique. Just in the past few days we have attacked two factories and two agricultural units near Maputo and blown up the army's largest ammunition dump for Maputo.

I.O.N.: Has the Mozambican government benefited from other support than that of Zimbabwe?

E.F.: Tanzanian troops have participated in a marginal fashion. Ethiopia has supplied MiGs with the support of the Soviets. But the 3-4,000 Zambian troops who are in northwest Tete province did not intervene. I should also state that we tracked many flights by unidentified aircraft over Gorongosa in the weeks preceding the attack; we know that the photographs they took were analysed by the British military advisers in Harare to aid in the preparation of the attack by Zimbabwean troops.

I.O.N.: Now that South Africa has publicly admitted violating the Nkomati agreement and supplying you with material aid, you can no longer say that you are opposed to Pretoria...

E.F.: South Africa has provided us with no aid. Louis Nel, South Africa's deputy foreign minister, made three visits to Gorongosa in May, June and July. Louis Nel was appointed by president Pieter Botha after Machel asked South Africa to make contact with us to prepare secret negotiations between Maputo and RENAMO. Maputo was therefore quite aware of each of the visits Louis Nel paid us, and each time Louis Nel reported back to Maputo. There has been talk of the South Africans enlarging the Gorongosa airstrip. That is true, but they did not do it for us. They enlarged the strip at the beginning of May so that Louis Nel's aircraft could land as safely as possible.

I.O.N.: What questions did you specifically discuss with Louis Nel, and did you achieve concrete results, before his visits to Gorongosa were eventually revealed by the Mozambican government?

E.F.: Nel discussed with us the possibilities of reopening negotiations with FRELIMO which laid down the condition that they should be secret. Nel's mission was to prepare for the opening of these negotiations, which would later take place directly between FRELIMO and us. On his third visit we agreed that the negotiations should be held in South Africa, which was one of FRELIMO's demands.

I.O.N.: But how do you explain the fact that Maputo revealed Nel's visits to Gorongosa and that South African foreign minister 'Pik' Botha acknowledged "technical violations" of the Nkomati agreement by Pretoria?

E.F.: 'Pik' Botha was the real architect of the Nkomati agreement. As he saw it, the accord would enable RENAMO to be eliminated (a view which was not shared by all South Africa's leaders) and Mozambique to be transformed

into a new bantustan. As RENAMO continued its activities after Nkomati, 'Pik' Botha dreamed up the "Pretoria Declaration" with the aim of eliminating us in a softer way by imposing a 15-month ceasefire. We often clashed violently during those discussions which is why president Botha later assigned Nel to continue them. 'Pik' Botha and Louis Nel are enemies, and 'Pik' Botha wanted above all for Nel to quit the foreign ministry. That is why he seized the opportunity of the revelation of Nel's presence at Gorongosa to make statements which brought about Nel's departure from his ministry.

I.O.N.: Would you still be prepared to resume negotiations with FRELIMO?

E.F.: We want above all to re-establish peace in Mozambique, but we will not resume negotiations under pressure from foreign troops. We will agree to negotiate once the Zimbabweans and the rest of them have departed.

CSO: 3400/191

7 November 1985

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

SOVIET CLASS SO-1 PATROL BOATS IN SERVICE--Two large Soviet class SO-1 patrol boats recently entered service in Mozambique. The craft measure 42x6.1x1.8m and have a service displacement of 215 tons (light displacement: 190 tons). Their three diesel engines deliver a total of 7,500 hp (5.516kW), giving the craft a maximum speed of 28 knots and a range of 1,100 nautical miles at 13 knots. Their armament comprises two twin-barrel 25mm cannon and four ASW depth charges. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Sep 85 p 52]

CSO: 3400/187

REUNION

SENATOR RAMASAMI ON PLACE OF SOCIALIST PARTY

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 11 Sep 85 p 4

[Article: "The Inhabitant of Reunion Has a Multiple Cultural Identity"]

[Text] Socialist senator Albert Ramasami was in Mauritius last weekend to take part in the celebrations marking the 250th anniversary of the arrival of the Tamils in Mauritius. Accordingly, the occasion was a favorable one for the senator to evaluate the promotion of Tamil culture in Reunion.

With this in view, he said that "just as a seed planted in the soil bears within it a nucleus which eventually overcomes all obstacles to blossom out into the light, the same is true for Tamil culture in Reunion." As a member of the Reunion Socialist Party, he used this meeting with the MAURICIEN to describe the Socialist Party's position in Reunion.

From the senator's point of view, "the inhabitant of Reunion, of whatever origin, has a multiple cultural identity: French culture is his according to the level of instruction he may have reached, then Creole culture which, present in all aspects of daily life, creates a certain unity in the population and, finally, according to his ethnic background, he receives elements of the culture passed on by his forebears which constitute for him an inheritance of ancestral culture."

The promotion of Tamil culture has been strengthened by the threat of an imported standard culture, the socialist senator explained. "In this world, getting smaller because of the speed of communication and the progress of the mass media, cultural models are parceled out like consumer goods, which tends to create a standard approach on our planet. Quite definitely, faced with this situation and feeling threatened, the local cultures are reacting. Hence, Tamil culture in Reunion is finding champions."

In the beginning, this rise in Tamil influence sparked fears that communal sentiments were taking root in Reunion. But, he

declared, "I think we have passed the stage where communalism was possible. Because, for communalism to be born, those who are its defenders, i.e., the protagonists, must be able to point to victimization, to racism, which gives rise to hatred and draws people together on the basis of revenge. But this does not exist in Reunion. We have no reason to complain of victimization or racism."

As far as the presence of the Socialist Party in Reunion is concerned, wedged between a powerful communist party and the Right which controls most municipalities, Senator Ramasami believes that "we have been able to carve out a niche for ourselves between these two blocs." He stated that "we have not done badly since we have a deputy and a senator."

For Albert Ramasami, the election of a socialist deputy and deputy [sic] in Reunion, especially when one is aware of the party's extremely difficult beginnings on the island, shows "that the boundaries between the parties are not impervious," and that when there are elections, the Reunion voter does not necessarily vote in accordance with his political affiliation; he also considers the personal qualities of the candidate.

In the coming general elections, Ramasami thinks that his party's chances are much better compared with the 1981 elections. And this "taking into account also the remarkable social policy we have pursued in the country. Since 1981, dependents' allowances and benefits paid to old people have been increased substantially, those who have gone on the interoccupational minimum growth wage have been made exempt from taxes, people 65 years of age and older have been exempted from paying the television and housing tax, with the result that all these social benefits as a whole have given us the means to conduct a campaign capable of winning us voters. And then there are many who feel too that the PS [Socialist Party], positioned between the PC [Communist Party] and the Right provides a guarantee for the preservation of democracy in Reunion. Because if all we had was the communist bloc on the one hand and the rightwing bloc on the other, the result would be a permanent confrontation. At that stage, rightwing policy would be more a matter of anticommunist reflex. Now the socialist presence makes it possible to concentrate attention on the problem."

"If reason is present in voter choice, there will be an honorable place for the PS on the political chessboard. I think that we can be hopeful and that we have a right to a place, and that it is reasonable for us to have it."

9824

CSO: 3419/17

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

BRIEFS

CHINA TO BUILD PEOPLE'S PALACE--President Manuel Pinto da Costa of Sao Tome and Principe on July 12 laid the foundation-stone for the People's Palace to be constructed with Chinese aid in the country's capital Sao Tome. The project reportedly covers an area of 8,300 sq.m. with a 1,000-seat conference hall, two 100-seat meeting halls, a 50-seat meeting hall and auxiliary buildings. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Sep 85 p 26]

ANGOLAN HELP IN SETTING UP NEWS AGENCY--The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Sao Tome e Principe has approved the setting up of the nucleus for a national news agency. The nucleus, to be known as STP/PRESS will initially operate attached to Sao Tome e Principe's national radio station and will be based on the service of the ANGOP news agency through the point-to-point telex system already installed. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Sep 85 p 26]

CSO: 3400/187

SOMALIA

Craxi Brings West's Support

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] For Mogadishu Italian prime minister Bettino Craxi's visit to Somalia from September 20 to 22 was a historic event. His stay, the first by an Italian head of government, enabled Rome to reaffirm its special links with Somalia. Economic aid amounting to 500 billion lire was promised, as well as new military assistance.

But the visit was also a re-statement, through Rome, of United States support for Somalia. The advances made by Libya in that country and also in Sudan (Tripoli announced that diplomatic relations had been resumed with Mogadishu last June), anxiety over the future of Washington's links with Khartoum and Ethiopia's continued position firmly in the Soviet camp in spite of massive food aid from the west, made it essential for the U.S. to strengthen Somalia and its president Mohamed Siad Barre. The possibility of some young Somali army officer launching a pro-Soviet coup d'etat has not been ruled out either by the United States or Saudi Arabia. As Somalia's traditional economic partner, Italy was best placed to convey the new western mood of solicitude after several years of relative indifference.

However, for Rome things were not all that simple. First of all, Ethiopia did not go along with this scenario. Unhappy that Mr Craxi's proposed tour, which also took in Sudan and Egypt, included only a two-hour stopover at Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian government demanded the cancellation of his visit at the last minute and even forbade his aircraft to overfly its territory. Italian foreign minister Giulio Andreotti had personally to reassure his Ethiopian counterpart Goshu Wolde (both were in New York for the United Nations general assembly) that Rome remained Addis Ababa's friend.

Mr Craxi's visit to Mogadishu also provoked an internal row in Italy. The radicals and communists were against it and many members of parliament raised the question of political prisoners in Somalia. Arguments raged before and after the visit on the need for Rome to keep an "equal distance" between Somalia and Ethiopia. Former Italian foreign minister Emilio Colombo had to explain through the columns of the Corriere della Sera that Mr Craxi was conducting a policy in the Horn of Africa that was no different from what his own had been.

It must be noted, however, that the authorities in Rome have taken a harder line towards Addis Ababa. The Ethiopian bombing raids on the Somali town of Abudwaq which killed 17 people and injured 15 three days before Mr Craxi's arrival in Mogadishu (the attacks were confirmed by diplomats from the United States, France, West Germany and China) added weight to president Siad Barre's demands for increased military aid from Rome. He asked for West German-designed Leopard tanks, saying that the second-hand armour provided free of charge by Italy last year was greatly outclassed by the T-55s and T-54s supplied to the Ethiopian army by Moscow. But Mr Craxi told the press that Rome could not deliver Leopards unless they were paid for. Meanwhile Italy, which wants to see an international conference called to resolve the Horn of Africa problem, once again proposed to act as mediator. However, Rome hardened its attitude in demanding that Ethiopia withdraw the troops it has had in the Somali towns of Galdogob and Balambale since 1982 and send home its Cuban allies.

CSO: 3400/197

SOMALIA

BRIEFS

SNM ELECTS EXECOM--The London branch of the Somali National Movement has just elected its new executive committee, which will be chaired by Mohamed-Rashid Haji Yassin, a former diplomat in the Somali embassy in London.
[Text] [Paris THE INDIAN (CEAN NEWSLETTER in English 28 Sep 85 p 8]

CSO: 3400/197

SOUTH AFRICA

US-ISRAELI TRADE PACT BENEFITS SA EXPORTERS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Sep 85 p 6

[Text]

EXPORTERS are being encouraged to make use of a new free trade agreement between Israel and the US as a means of channeling SA goods to the US.

As a result of the agreement, says the Department of Trade and Industry, local manufacturers can use Israel as a base for duty-free exports to the US.

There is a catch, however. Added value — the amount by which additional materials and processing in Israel increase the goods' value — must be at least 35% of the total value when goods reach the US.

In its latest Export Bulletin, the department alerts local exporters to the agreement signed by the US and Israel in April, under which customs duties and trade restrictions between the two will be eliminated over the next 10 years.

Local companies are examining the export possibility and say they are being encouraged by senior Israeli officials.

Customs duties between Israel and the US will be phased in in four stages:

- ☐ Duties on raw materials for industry, as well as goods currently enjoying duty-free treatment or extremely low duties, were eliminated on September 1;
- ☐ Elimination of duties on products in certain other tariff categories, by January 1, 1989;
- ☐ Elimination of duties on "import-sensitive" goods, primarily textiles, by January 1, 1995;
- ☐ Reductions of duties on highly import-sensitive goods such as agricultural and chemical products, plastics and footwear, from 1990 to January 1, 1995.

The Export Bulletin says: "SA exporters can use Israel as a production base from which they can export their goods duty-free to the US provided value added in Israel is at least 35% of the article's value when it enters the US."

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

PW BOTHA REVEALS HUMAN SIDE TO HIS PERSONALITY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Oct 85 p 12

[Article by David Braun]

[Text]

President Botha has a number of interesting anniversaries coming up. He has just been elected leader of the Cape National Party for the 20th time.

In just over three months from now he turns 70. And next year he will have completed 50 years of political life.

Many people might use a confluence of such numbers to take the opportunity to retire, secure in the knowledge that few could have achieved such heights in public life. But there is no indication that Mr Botha has even thought of retiring.

At close on 70 he looks fit and relaxed, and he has made it known that while it would be nice to see out his days in the company of his children and grandchildren, he badly wants to see his plans and reforms bear fruit.

He has done more than any other Nationalist leader to secure the rights of other population groups, he told the Cape National Party congress party this week. That is true. South Africa has come a very long way since Pieter Willem Botha took over the reins of government as Prime Minister just over seven years ago.

But then he has also had to contend with more serious crises than any of his modern predecessors. Throughout them all, publicly at least, and to the chagrin of so many of his opponents at home and abroad, Mr Botha has never been flustered or hurried — but nor has he been stoppable.

The many decades of political experience and powerful leadership have shaped a tough character who, in the words of one close to him, does things in his own way and in his own time.

Thus in this year of enormous pressure and change for South Africa, P W Botha has adhered to his reform timetable regardless of what anyone else threatens or says.

He set out certain guidelines and principles when he opened Parliament on January 25, then he consolidated those and others he made in subsequent parliamentary speeches when he opened this year's National Party Natal congress.

As the congress season ground on, he made further announcements and then, finally, at this week's Cape congress, he committed the Government to the principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and a universal franchise.

Throughout this year, when the Conservative Party and others on the political Right made blatant overtures to the electoral power base of the National Party by portraying every reform step as a sell-out of the white man, Mr Botha has reiterated that the party must adapt to changing circumstances and lead the way to white security.

And when those to the Left, including the most powerful countries in the world, threatened and cajoled for faster and more reform, he said no one would prescribe how and what should be done.

This week saw Mr Botha back at his power-base, the provincial party in which he worked his way up over the last half century — from a young organiser.

His 20th term as leader was greeted with an enthusiastic standing ovation.

"We don't just talk of loyalty to our leader here," said Mr Chris Heunis, the NP Cape chairman. "We talk of our love."

Mr Botha was present throughout the three-day congress, mingling

with delegates or, in the words of one journalist, surveying his brood like a self-satisfied mother hen.

Journalists know the President to be cantankerous in his personal dealings with the media.

His pointed smirk in the direction of the media table when an English-speaking woman delegate told the Cape congress that English-speaking South Africans were questioning the political acumen of English newspapers, was not lost on the newsmen.

But when it came to dealing with his people, the President was charming and even humble.

One elderly delegate greeted him as "old P W", and the leader stopped to chat about the weather. He went on a "walk-about" in the congress hall and drank tea with the rank-and-file.

The man who holds sway over the lives of so many millions, who preoccupies major governments and the United Nations and invokes so much emotional rhetoric at home, seemed such an ordinary, pleasant fellow.

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT'S ATTACK ON PRESS FREEDOM CRITICIZED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 7 Oct 85 p 4

[Commentary: "Attack on Press Freedom"]

[Text]

YET another journalist has been kicked out of the country for reasons which the Government may presume to be adequate, but which will create enormous problems for this country.

When the *Newsweek* correspondent, Roy Wilkinsor, was booted out of South Africa after what was a rather sensational treatment of events here, the story was given prominence all over the world.

The Government may have had sufficient reason to feel piqued by the story that was written for *Newsweek*. And yet slinging out journalists from problem areas is perhaps the most successful way of shooting them and the stories they are writing into prominence. Often a prominence and even reputation they do not exactly deserve.

This time the Government has kicked out a French journalist, one Bernard Bisson, who was picked up at his Cape Town hotel and deported from South Africa.

This French photographer may have entered the country under false pretences. That is probably the reason why a government would have

to look askance at him. Unfortunately it seemed he also got himself rather obviously involved in getting pictures and fired the ire of those in authority.

The people who read the story abroad will most likely gloss over the reasons for his deportation. But what will stick in thier mind is that a foreign journalist has been flung out of this problem spot. South Africa is getting so much media coverage abroad that every story on the country hits the front pages. A story like this is going to be treated in a very big way.

The trouble with those who rule this country is that they tend to be paranoid about the way in which they are flayed by the international community. They are, however, the first to create opportunities for the outside Press to turn "bad" on South African events.

It is only in countries that are undemocratic that reporters are given the marching orders. The reason for such action is frequently quite obvious. The tyrants do not wish to have their misdeeds given coverage throughout the world. In today's world this is even more important for a bad Press leads to a loss of in-

vestment confidence. We are in serious trouble in this particular sphere as things stand. South Africa now believes she has to cover-up all the things that are being perpetrated by officers of law and order. They cannot get away with it.

Finally the attack on the freedom of any member of the Press to perform his or her duty is an attack on the freedom of the Press. There are fears that South Africa will get even more dangerously irritated by

foreign correspondents and their work. When that becomes fact the next step will be an assault on the freedom of the Press internally. Finally the civil liberties of all citizens of the country will be under assault. That is the way towards dictatorship.

If the officials believe they can act with such impunity, without weighing the pros and cons of the situation, this country will degenerate even further into chaos.

CSO: 3400/194

SOUTH AFRICA

INFLUX CONTROL LAWS CONTINUE TO CONFUSE

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 7 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Sam Mabe]

[Text]

INFLUX control laws are among the most controversial in this country.

The laws have been a subject of heated debates in Parliament. They have been challenged on political platforms and sometimes in the courts of law.

In 1956 when the law requiring every black male over the age of 16 years to carry a pass was extended to women, there was a national uproar. About 20 000 women from various parts of the country marched to Pretoria to submit petitions in which they registered their protest against the law.

In 1960, the Pan African Congress organised anti-pass demonstrations in which thousands of people burnt their passbooks and thereafter handed themselves over to the police for arrest.

In Sharpeville, the demonstrations led to an outbreak of violence in which 69 people were killed by the police.

Today, the laws continue to be among the most confusing laws in the country. They confuse the officials who implement them in the

same way as they confuse the man in the street.

As a result, thousands of blacks who qualify in terms of Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) of the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act, to be in urban areas have been endorsed out of the cities because officials misinterpreted the law.

The Rikhoto judgement of 1983, and recently, the Mthiya judgement, have given a proper interpretation of the law. But there are

many people who, out of ignorance, have not demanded appropriate endorsements in their passbooks.

Development board officials have at times made life difficult for some people by refusing to honour the court judgements.

In the "Rikhoto case", Mr Mehlole Tom Rikhoto had complied with all the provisions of the law to qualify for Section 10 (1) rights. He had worked continuously for one employer for more than 10 years and had lived in the area of his employment for more than 15 years.

But as a contract worker, he had to go back to his homeland once every year to renew his employment contract. The West Rand Administration Board argued that his service with an engineering firm in Germiston was not continuous — it had been broken everytime he went on (paid) leave to renew the contract.

Mr Mdaweni Elliot Mthiya's case was almost similar to Rikhoto's, except that Mr Mthiya was absent from the prescribed area in Cape Town on three occasions of six months, four months, and eight months respectively.

His was an unpaid leave. Mr Justice Pat Tebbutt decided that he was qualified for permanent city residence. The Western Cape Administration Board appealed against the ruling and last week the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein upheld Mr Justice Tebbutt's decision.

The court found that as in the case of Rikhoto, an employee could have worked continuously despite physical absence through illness or the taking of leave.

In Mthiya's case the court found that every time Mr Mthiya left for his home in Transkei, no

agreement was made between him and his employer as to how long he would be away, but there was an agreement that he would be re-engaged on his return.

This, the court conceded, meant that the continuity of Mr Mthiya's employment had not necessarily been broken.

Following the judgement, Mr Mthiya received a Section 10 (1) (b) stamp in his passbook from the Western Cape Development Board offices.

He is now qualified to live as a permanent resident at Nyanga, Cape Town.

There has been a hint from Government that there are to be changes in influx control laws, but the laws restricting the movement and employment of blacks in urban areas still exist and are enforced.

The Mthiya judge-

ment is therefore of immediate practical importance to workers wishing to establish their rights to urban living.

The three offices of the Legal Resources Centre in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg have cases of workers with similar periods of leave in their work record.

A spokesman for the LRC in Johannesburg said people whose Section 10 rights have been recognised following the Mthiya case are likely to be protected whatever form the new legislation takes.

"It is therefore important that all workers who have had 10 years of employment with an employer whether or not that employment has contained paid or unpaid leave should apply immediately to have correct endorsements in their passbooks," the spokesman said.

SOUTH AFRICA

PREVENTION OF DR ORR FROM VISITING DETAINEES CRITICIZED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 8 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

It is a disgrace and a scandal that the doctor who recently took allegations of widespread police torture of detainees to the Supreme Court, is no longer allowed to visit detainees.

The Opposition chief spokesman on medical matters, Dr Marius Barnard has called on the authorities to give an urgent explanation for the way in which Dr Wendy Orr was being treated.

Dr Barnard was reacting to the disclosures that the Department of Health and Welfare had advised her to stop seeing detainees.

Dr Barnard also believes there was no reason for her being suspended from her position, sentiments we share exactly.

She had confessed that she had no political axe to grind when she undertook to investigate and then reveal these allegations.

She has done the medical fraternity here a signal favour by acting in this excellent fashion.

It is common cause that doctors have been sadly dented in their professional status by the actions of two senior doctors who were actually found guilty of neglectful behaviour by the courts.

It is in the interests of everybody, including the police, that these allegations should be tested.

It is in the interests of the Government and all its organs that its officers are given a clean bill of health. The hamhanded manner in which the Orr episode has been treated by the officials is untenable.

The medical fraternity should do all in its power to have Dr Orr re-instated.

Not only should she be re-instated but we feel she should be placed in a more senior position.

The authorities most certainly have got the right to test the allegations and if the picture they bring out differs from the conclusion reached by Dr Orr, then only could they have a decent chance to act against her; in whatever manner they deem fit.

The authorities are giving the impression that they are prejudging allegations in her report while the report should in fact be thoroughly investigated.

In the meantime the districts affected by the state of emergency are entering the fourth month of this draconian action, with no

sight of light at the end of the tunnel.

Meanwhile there are concerned township people, like members of the Diepkloof Civic Association, who are prepared to do something about the deteriorating state of affairs in the townships.

We believe these men are courageous enough to come out when everybody is in a state of acute confusion and some despair.

It is most perplexing that the Government should not be struck by the obvious trend in which things are going.

As things stand there are many people who wish to see the unrest and restlessness come to an end.

They have nowhere to turn to. Whatever the army and police have done so far, they have not been able to stop violence perpetrated against members of the police itself, let alone the unrest hitting the rest of us.

CSO: 3400/194

SOUTH AFRICA

MOST SOUTH AFRICANS CLAIM TO BE CHRISTIAN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Oct 85 p 12

[Text]

A WORKING committee of the Human Sciences Research Council investigation into intergroup relations and social change in South Africa has warned of the dangers of polarisation and underlined the therapeutic role which the churches can play.

The team of researchers under the chairmanship of Professor G C Oosthuizen, of the University of Durban-Westville, warned the "political decision-makers" of the "destructive consequences of polarisation in South Africa, which is becoming more intense and dangerous, not the least within religious communities".

Their report, which urged further research into the role of religion in South Africa, was released in Pretoria yesterday.

Although the report showed religion as often playing a divisive role in South African society, it also indicated the existence of "a remarkable

consensus on fundamental religious values which could serve as a basis for constructive relations".

According to the 1980 census, 77 percent of South Africans claimed to be Christian, with the largest single religious groupings being those of the Black indigenous churches (20 percent).

Just over 51 percent of South Africa's population did not belong to any of the main-stream Western Christian churches.

Among Western Christian churches the Dutch Reformed family was the largest (12.5 percent) although they did not represent a structural unity.

Methodism followed with a proportion of 10 percent, with Catholicism third at just over nine percent.

A "striking feature" was the rapid growth of the Black indigenous churches, whose membership increased from about two-million in 1960 to almost six-million in 1980, or by about 300 percent.

Religion Has Potential To Be Divisive

EVIDENCE shows that churches across the spectrum of the religious community in South Africa often play a "devisive, destructive" role because particular groups' interests are served at the expense of others.

Religion can stimulate, but also inhibit change — the HSRC report said.

"It can be used to mediate in situations of conflict, but also to incite violence — it can be a strong uniting, but also a very devisive force."

As a result, the option of a middle group in such a situation was less and less available, and people were forced to either de-

fend or attack the status quo.

The authorities should "take cognisance" of the ambivalent way in which religion functioned in South Africa and "due attention" should be given to the so-called Black indigenous churches, the report said.

The political decision-makers should take care to uphold religious freedom — implying on the one hand the right of individuals and groups to fulfil their own commitments and, on the other, the equal treatment of religious communities by the State. — Sapa.

Many Blacks Approve Violence

ALTHOUGH there were pacifist trends among religious groups, it appeared 45 percent of the Blacks did not regard violence as irreconcilable with their religious views, the HSRC report on religion in intergroup relations has found.

On the other hand, there were those (in religious communities) who regarded violence as permissible in maintaining the status quo and supressing revolt.

Civil war in South Africa, including the unthinkable prospect of followers of the same religious tradition facing one another from opposing camps did not appear to be merely a theoretical possibility.

Examples in South African history of this were the virtual integration of the British missionary effort during the colonial period with the interests of the British Empire.

Untapped Resource To Bridge Race Gaps

AFRIKAANS churches had neglected their task of keeping people sensitive and aware of the need to have a society based on human values, the HSRC committee on religion in intergroup relations in South Africa has found.

"Whites on the whole are extraordinarily insensitive to the suffering which existing social structures inflict on those who are not White," the report, which was released in Pretoria yesterday said.

"It is the task of religion to ensure that the people in a society remain sensitive to human suffering."

The report's main finding was that religion in South Africa had the potential to play a constructive role in bridging gaps in the country's deeply segmented society, but that this was "untapped" at present, with churches often playing a "divisive, destructive" role by serv-

ing particular groups' interests at the expense of others.

Traditionally, it said, there had been wide differences between the Afrikaans and English churches on the issue of human rights.

"Recently, however, human rights have featured more prominently as an issue in the Afrikaans churches."

The report said research suggested human rights priorities could be formulated within the following guidelines: the right to life, the right to fully express one's humanity, and the right to a decent quality of life.

"These guidelines have direct consequences for the following aspects of South African life: the Mixed-Marriages Act, the Group Areas Act, influx control, ownership of land, property rights and housing, equal education opportunities, and security legislation." — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/193

SOUTH AFRICA

TREURNICHT TURNS DOWN PROPOSALS FOR POLITICAL MODEL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 Oct 85 p 10

[Text]

PRETORIA — The political model proposed by a Human Sciences Research Council study group was unacceptable for South Africa's deeply divided population, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said.

Commenting in Pretoria on the report, which was released yesterday, he said he wanted to know what the political function of the HSRC was.

The proposed system meant a coalition government "which in our case will by the storm centre of conflicting interests and political strife.

"It accepts a mutual veto which can disintegrate into a minority dictatorship . . . This is simply unacceptable," he said.

The proposed system also accepted proportional representation which would inevitably bring black majority rule in a unitary state — something which was equally unacceptable.

"The whole system makes the principle of groups' autonomy meaningless.

"Systems which will clearly ignore and undermine all self-determination for nations (volke) and which have succeeded nowhere else in comparable circumstances must not be advocated for South Africa," Dr Treurnicht said. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/193

SOUTH AFRICA

HSRC SAYS SYSTEM OF RACE CLASSIFICATION MUST BE ABOLISHED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 Oct 85 p 10

[Text]

THE system of race classification as implemented in the Population Registration Act of 1950 was probably the root cause of ill feeling between South Africa's different groups and it would have to go, says a Human Sciences Research Council.

The committee's report, with which the chairman, Professor Marinus Weichers of Unisa, did not fully agree, was released in Pretoria yesterday.

The main committee subsequently released its report, in which it generally criticised the system of apartheid, in July this year.

In its report, entitled "Political Co-operation within a fundamental rule of law", the working committee's prime recommendation was that a fundamental rule of law be created and further developed to ensure the protection of group as well as individual rights.

The first step should be accompanied by a declaration of intent by the Government and the announcement of a legislative programme to eliminate existing laws which

threatened the creation of the envisaged fundamental rule of law.

The second recommendation was that a "fully participant democracy" in the form of a real consociational central government should be created.

Its third recommendation was that all subordinate forms of government should be established with the same principles in mind.

Fourthly, the four independent national states should be developed as full partners in the Southern African Community of States, and the national states as autonomous regional governments in a decentralised system.

The public service sector, as the vehicle for implementing democracy should, fifthly, be fully integrated.

The committee realised its reform guidelines were impossible to implement overnight and recommended three phases for the process:

- The declaration of intent, with all its implications;
- Reorganisation, with an active transfer to acceptable citizenship arrangements, the estab-

lishment of regional governments as well as co-operation structures and institutions across national borders, and the institution of consociational governments at local level; and

- The constitution of consociational or co-operation government at central level for members of all population groups.

The committee found the implementation of the present system of statutory population registration had had four "extremely negative" effects on group relations.

Firstly, because ethnicity was indeterminable and juridically untenable, population registration had effectively become race classification, with colour and origin as the almost exclusive criteria.

Secondly, population registration had come under serious suspicion when the system, as far as Blacks were concerned, had been coupled to citizenship of the so-called homelands to the extent that some had statutorily been declared aliens in their own fatherland.

Thirdly, the system had given rise to a number of racial laws — all with a

negative influence on group relations.

"The link between population registration and the establishment and maintenance of White supreme authority is surely the deepest reason why ethnicity and official protection of group identity in South Africa is treated so suspiciously, has become unacceptable, and why the new constitution . . . has aroused so much resistance."

It concluded that the legitimacy of the present constitution and the political system underpinning it was opposed to such a degree that there was no possibility of sound intergroup relations unless the complete system was reformed as fast as possible.

Whites would have to accept eventual equal political participation by all population groups.

In a separate comment, professor Weichers said that, while he agreed with many of the committee's views and findings, he disagreed with particularly the core ideas contained in the recommendations.

He referred to the "change of thinking" by the Government, as evidenced so far by the extension of voting rights and political participation to "people of colour", and the recognition of the constitutional needs of Blacks who lived permanently outside the independent and self-governing national states.

Professor Weichers was of the opinion the retention of the Population

Registration Act — in spite of his agreement with criticism of it — was, for the present, unavoidable.

He was sceptical of the proposed consociational model, saying there were no existing models that could be applied to the South African situation, and that the issue was in fact the creation of a unique structure to comply equally with the reasonable demands from both Whites for security and "Black expectations".

Prof Weichers said in his opinion there was too much theorising and too little "political engineering", which ran the risk of increasing confusion together with increased tension among the various groups. — Sapa.

SOUTH AFRICA

HELEN SUZMAN REJECTS DPSC CRITICISM

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 Oct 85 p 14

[Text]

THE Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on Law and Order, Mrs Helen Suzman, has rejected suggestions by the Detainees Parent's Support Committee (DPSC) that her report on the treatment of detainees at the Johannesburg Prison was inaccurate and "naive".

Mrs Suzman, replying to objections by the DPSC to the report by herself and fellow MP Mr Peter Soal on their recent visit to detainees, said:

"I wish to point out that our comments referred only to interrogations that were carried out after people were detained at the prison and not to anything that might have happened prior to that at Protea Police Station or anywhere else.

No complaints

"We have no reason to disbelieve the detainees who told us they had no complaints on that score.

"The presence of prison officials during our contact visits did not deter the detainees from complaining about the conditions under which they were being held, for example, being detained without charge, the food, no reading material except the Bible or Koran, and in some cases about not having received any visitors and about bad ventilation in the cells.

"I have conveyed these complaints to the Minister of Law and Order, with some positive results.

"During my many years of prison visiting, I have always reported my

impressions accurately.

"While the DPSC is entitled to criticise my judgement I should, after more than 20 years' experience, be in a position to ascertain whether prisoners are too intimidated to make complaints and I strongly resent the DPSC's questioning my bona fides.

Pernicious system

"I was the only MP to oppose the introduction of the pernicious system of detention without trial when it was first introduced in 1963.

"I have taken up the cause of its unfortunate victims ever since.

"As its name implies, the Detainees Parents' Support Committee commenced its good work only a few years ago, after

their own children had been detained."

Naive

The DPSC yesterday described the two MPs as "extremely naive" and lacking the understanding to expect detainees to tell of torture.

In a statement at its annual conference at Athlone in the Cape, the DPSC said: 'We believe that their reported statement has set back the detainees' case considerably.

"The detainees fear that if they tell of torture they will be further tortured later as punishment.

"Mrs Suzman and Mr Soal would walk out of Diepkloof free — the detainees remain in the hands of their captors." — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/193

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT MAY ALLOW ONLY BONA FIDE PRESS IN UNREST AREAS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by Tony Stirling]

[Text]

THE Government is believed to be considering introducing measures which will permit only bona fide local and foreign journalists to enter unrest areas for the purposes of reporting.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said at Queens-town on Friday that "police will act very strictly" against journalists at unrest scenes in the future.

He listed a number of complaints and made a number of allegations concerning newsmen.

In regard to foreign journalists, it is believed that the Government — through the New Bureau of Information — is considering introducing measures which will permit only accredited representatives of foreign media to operate in South Africa.

According to The Citizen's information the step, as envisaged, could limit the sending out of reporters for publication

overseas to bona fide accredited representatives of overseas media.

This would eliminate the operation of those who operate for overseas publications, but not as bona fide full-time representatives.

In so far as unrest coverage is concerned, it is believed that the police will in future ask for the identification of reporters to establish they are bona fide journalists from either the local or international media.

Among the grievances listed by Mr le Grange were:

- Foreign newsmen entering the country under false pretences, and producing reports with "the most negative results"

- Newsmen paying township dwellers to "create sensation in front of their cameras";

- Cases of hindrance of the police in their duties by media representatives; and

- Cases where media representatives were already at the scene before unrest developed.

Other aspects of concern mentioned to The Citizen by Government sources, were that some overseas organisations are apparently hiring Blacks, who were not trained journalists, and giving them cheap, automatic video equipment to film unrest scenes, without any form of check being made on the genuineness of the material.

Most South African journalists working for the media are in possession of a Press card issued by the Commissioner of Police which may be the means of identity insisted upon by the police for those from local media covering unrest scenes.

In so far as foreign media are concerned, the Department of Foreign Affairs keeps a list of accredited representatives but it is known that there are scores of reporters who act as or freelance contributors to overseas publications, who are unlisted.

SOUTH AFRICA

COKE HELPS FINANCING OF BLACK MANAGER TRAINING

Johannesburg CITY PRESS "PROSPECTS," in English 6 Oct 85 p 9

[Text] The Coca-Cola Export Corporation has presented R12 000 to the Unisa School of Business Leadership Middle Management Program.

It is aimed at improving the standards of black businessmen in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area.

Coca-Cola's Trade and Community Development Manager, Ernest Mchunu, presented the cheque to program director Prof Nic Wiehahn.

This brings the company's total contribution to the program to R200 000.

Mr Mchunu said it was only recently that serious attention was being given to black people's commercial education.

But even the university graduate with a degree in commerce will find that adapting to the business world takes time.

Mr Mchunu believes a company is like another university:

"Here it takes you three or four years to get your degree of experience."

Black people must also be prepared to assert themselves more in the office environment or face accusations of being "token" managers with few, if any, real powers of decision-making responsibilities.

The Unisa SBL course has been specially designed to deal with problems such as these. People on the course will learn basic management skills and how these skills work in the office environment.

Mr Mchunu said black managers had to fit into the Western business world and interact successfully with their white colleagues during the day.

At night they mentally "switch off."

CSO: 3400/195

SOUTH AFRICA

WEST CAPE JOBLESS NUMBER SOARS

Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 7 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Tony Weaver]

[Text]

THE number of people unemployed in the Western Cape has almost doubled since the beginning of this year — and a senior academic at the University of Stellenbosch has warned that this can only increase and aggravate unrest in the area.

Figures supplied last week by the Department of Manpower include only jobless people registered with the department, a figure researchers say can be used only to indicate trends as it is way below the real figure.

Compared to a January figure of 8 445 registered unemployed in the Western Cape, the figure for August has reached 18 442, an increase of over 100 percent.

The national figure for July shows an increase in unemployment of 131,2 percent over the same month in 1984.

Dr Aart Roukens de Lange, senior research associate at the University of Stellenbosch's Institute for Futures Research, said yesterday the official figures in themselves were "meaningless".

'Major trigger factor'

"They represent a significant underestimation of the true position because they only reflect registered jobless which are a small fraction of the total. As such they can only be used as a sample survey to indicate trends.

"What is significant at present is that there is a marked correlation between the state of the economy and the unrest situation, something which emerges clearly from studies of past periods of unrest."

He described unemployment as "a major trigger factor" in unrest.

The official figures for the Western Cape are: January, 8 445 unemployed; February, 12 711; March, 14 659; April, 14 681; May, 17 064; June, 16 906; July, 18 340; and August, 18 442.

Worst-hit appears to be the coloured community, with a January figure of 4 905 increasing by over 120 percent to 12 741 in August.

The number of whites unemployed has remained fairly constant around the 3 500 to 5 000 mark, while registered unemployed blacks has more than doubled from 499 in January to 1 290 in August.

Researchers agreed the figures for blacks were "hopelessly below the actual position".

SOUTH AFRICA

CONSERVATISM STILL FEATURES IN NATIONAL PARTY RANKS

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 3 Oct 85 p 4

Article by Tos Wentzel]

[Text]

PORT ELIZABETH. — Strong conservative undertones remain among the rank-and-file supporters of the National Party in spite of President P W Botha's reform efforts.

This emerged clearly at the Cape congress of the party, which ended in Port Elizabeth yesterday. It was the last of this year's round of National Party congresses.

President Botha had to intervene to allay fears among conservative supporters about the Group Areas Act: a verligte delegate suggested that the controversial Act be scrapped, but Mr Botha rejected this and the congress endorsed a resolution calling for its retention.

Some conservatives also expressed misgivings about the lifting of the coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape last year. The firm action of the party leadership then has left them unhappy.

There were also misgivings about the large number of blacks entering the Western Cape. Mr Botha indicated that recent proposals by the President's Council for orderly urbanisation would be carefully studied before a final decision was taken.

Acceptance of the proposals would imply the scrapping of influx control and the pass system, but the Government would move cautiously on this issue.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, conceded at the congress that in the past punitive measures alone had not worked. The black states would have to be consulted.

Mr Heunis also conceded that another serious mistake had been made: sufficient white capital had not been allowed into the black states to stimulate development there and thus prevent many blacks from coming to the urban areas.

In favour

The Minister came out in favour of orderly urbanisation.

One of the main themes of the congress as set by Mr Botha was the agenda for negotiations with leaders of all groups — not just elected leaders — and the inclusion of leaders of interest groups such as businessmen.

Winding up the congress yesterday Mr Heunis said the President had in the past year altered South Africa's course.

SOUTH AFRICA

EXPERT EXAMINES ANC'S RECENT CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE IN KABWE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Oct 85 p 14

[Article by Tom Lodge]

[Text]

Organising a delegate conference on a scale of the proceedings at Kabwe is a complex operation for the ANC. The logistical problems are formidable.

Its external bureaucracy and membership is distributed over 20 countries and quite apart from the business of bringing together representatives from all these centres there is also the difficulty of ensuring that people from the ANC's internal South African organisation can attend such a gathering.

As yet there have been no public revelations concerning the debates and arguments that took place.

What seems fairly certain, though, from the decisions that have been announced and publicised is that the underlying mood of the conference reflected a high level of morale among its participants and a general feeling of unity over essentials.

The resolutions adopted at Kabwe fall into three categories: those that define the movement's political orientation, those that indicate strategic intentions and those that concern internal organisational matters.

The political resolutions did not include any radical departures from previous policy.

The only political decision that involved a break with ANC tradition was the move to admit whites and

coloureds to the "internal" ANC and to positions on the national executive. "Non-Africans" had been able to join the external movement from 1969 but had been excluded from the executive.

In dropping its racial barriers to full membership the ANC was formalising what was already becoming a practice and also was responding to the ascendancy of "non-racialism" in the black mass organisations inside South Africa.

Concerning foreign capitalist involvement in South Africa it was clear the ANC's view is influenced chiefly by what it sees as strategically desirable rather than any fixed ideological perspective.

Hence, though it supports disinvestment and has warned that South African subsidiaries of foreign corporations could become targets for guerilla saboteurs, ANC leaders have in the recent past made it clear that they are not opposed in principle to the concept of foreign capitalist investment in the South African economy.

If one takes into consideration the crescendo of hostility in the United States to apartheid, it is likely that the ANC will attempt to expand its popular influence in America.

If it is successful in doing so, the the ANC's leadership will have a strong motive for remaining fairly pragmatic in its commitment to socialist principles.

The main source of radical pressure or influence on the ANC leadership does not come either from Eastern bloc allies or, as is often asserted, from its members who are also communists.

Black people understand their oppression not simply in terms of race but as a domination of class as well.

If in the future the ANC shifts to the left in its social and economic prescriptions this will not be the result of any kind of manipulation of the movement by communists; it will rather be a reflection of the wider political culture of which it is part.

Regarding the question of the ANC's broader military strategy the delegates at Kabwe resolved in favour of "People's War", a concept that had already for some time been under discussion in ANC and South African Communist Party journals.

This essentially comprises the broadening out of the base of guerilla operations with the recruitment of an army of "part-time" guerillas who would operate within their normal home areas.

They would be provided with basic training through short courses in the use of simple weaponry and explosive devices, and would concentrate their activity at this stage on attacking the representatives of apartheid

political institutions and the forces of law and order within their communities.

This would achieve three objectives:

- It would lessen the ANC's dependence on the flow of logistical support and manpower across South Africa's frontiers;

- It would deepen the popular roots of its struggle and broaden the base of its disciplined following;

- It would make a very significant erosion in the capacity of the South African state to govern black communities effectively.

It should also be pointed out that as the main targets for people's war are in residential areas the economy could emerge in the aftermath of an ANC victory relatively unscathed.

Indeed, as the ANC foresees that victory as being immediately preceded by massive industrial stoppages, it is unlikely that guerilla violence will be directed at significantly curtailing industrial production.

In the next phase of its struggle then, the ANC's priorities will be organisational rather than military. "Soft targets" notwithstanding, it is unlikely that guerilla violence will be raised significantly.

ANC activity will probably be less conspicuously evident as the task of transforming its massive informal following into a disciplined adherence gets under way.

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW REPUBLIC PARTY LEADER SAYS ANC WILL MURDER MANDELA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 16 Oct 85 p 14

[Article by R. Smith]

[Text]

DURBAN. — The imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, should not be released because the ANC would murder him, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, said in Durban this week.

Addressing the party's Port Natal by-election campaign meeting, Mr Sutton rejected calls for a National Convention and the release of Mandela, but appealed to the Government to put two homeland leaders in the Cabinet.

Mr Sutton said that although he supported the National Convention Alliance being set up by the Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, he did so because they were looking for Black leaders to talk to the Government.

He did not believe in a National Convention because it would lead to immediate majority rule and an ANC government.

"I don't agree that Mr Mandela should be set free. He would be used to the maximum political advantage the ANC could get out of him, and then he would be murdered. And it would be made to seem that we Whites had murdered him."

Mr Sutton said Mandela would be welcomed as a saviour, and the chairman of the PFP federal council, Dr Alex Boraine, and others would be "barking along beside him."

But he said the ANC's armed forces would not stand back for him.

"He's happy, he's in a good place, he's safe. When our system is working, then we can say to him, 'Come along and take part'".

Mr Sutton said the Government should immediately include two homeland leaders in the Cabinet, one of whom should be the Chief Min-

ister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He reiterated NRP policy that a Black Chamber of Parliament was essential.

For reform to take place, the unrest had to stop, and he advised the recruitment of unemployed men "to put a lid on the boys".

The NRP candidate in the by-election, Dr Rouen Smit, launched a scathing attack on the Government's economic policy.

He said South Africa was bankrupt as a result of Government mismanagement and a persistent pattern of overspending.

Dr Smit said the Government's decentralisation policy was a wasteful, ideologically-based exercise, which involved costly relocation rather than the establishment of new industries.

SOUTH AFRICA

TRANSVAAL NATIONALISTS REVEALED AS BECOMING MORE LIBERAL

Cape Town THE WEEKEND ARGUS in English 28 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by Tos Wentzel]

[Text]

AN astonishing change has come over Transvaal Nationalists. The need for reform and negotiation is commonly recognised by them.

The party has either undergone a major change of attitude, or else it is simply that it been so thoroughly purged of conservatives who have joined Dr Andries Treurnicht that only a verligte core has been left behind. It is probably a combination of the two factors.

But the impression from a visit to the Transvaal is that Nationalist supporters are now prepared to face realities and accept the need for negotiations, which is a vast difference from their conservative arrogance of the past.

The change started after the split three years ago when the conservatives left, leaving those who were more amenable to change to view Mr P W Botha's reform plans with less inhibition.

Post office

Only six years ago, in 1979, Mr Botha still had his "what sort of a mentality is this" confrontation with verkrampes at the Transvaal Nationalist congress when he attacked those who, among other things, had misgivings about the scrapping of post office apartheid.

At this year's congress delegates confirmed they were no longer prepared to be held back by fear of the way in which the Conservatives and the HNP could exploit the Government's reform plans. They followed Mr Botha's lead.

The CP and to a lesser degree the HNP are a threat to the ruling party. While Nationalist organisers bravely claim that some of the disgruntled are returning to the fold, the CP and the HNP insist that their support is growing apace in Pretoria and especially in the rural areas.

In the by-election campaigns the rightwing parties are trying to get all the mileage they can out of the abolition of the racial sex laws and Mr Botha's announcements on black citizenship. And now they are licking their lips at the prospect of an announcement on the abolition of influx control and the pass system.

Irrevocable

Leading Transvaal Nationalists seem to have finally accepted that some of the party's traditional Afrikaner support has been irrevocably lost — and that the party will lose seats to the CP.

As a Cape observer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, summed up the mood in saying it was no longer a case of whether there should be reform and negotiation but of how this should be brought about.

Nationalist politicians ascribed this partly to an exhaustive information campaign in the past year. They believe they have succeeded in bring-

ing home to supporters that reform could be brought about without seriously affecting the position of the whites.

However, a CP spokesman maintained that the ruling party was losing so much support in the platteland that it was becoming irrelevant in some areas.

The only consolation for Nationalists is the inability of the CP and HNP to end their squabbles. The HNP recently turned down a CP suggestion that they should merge and they could only partially agree on a splitting of candidates in the by-elections. In Vryburg both the CP and the HNP are standing against the National Party.

Unless the two can get together they may, as happened in previous by-elections, lose against the Nationalists on a split vote.

In Pretoria this week Mr Jaap Marais insisted that he saw little prospect of the two parties merging or even cooperating all that closely in future.

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY WARNS YOUTH PROTEST ACTIONS NOT TO BE UNDERESTIMATED

Cape Town THE WEEKEND ARGUS in English 28 Sep 85 p 16

[Article by Dale Lautenbach]

[Text]

THE "youth revolution" and protest action by schoolchildren and students is not to be underestimated. Political statements coming out of young mouths now are suprisingly mature.

"All too often I've heard the cry from students and pupils: 'I've had enough. How can I carry on normally?'," said one psychologist.

And warnings not to dismiss this youth factor in the strife and crisis gripping the country now come from educationists, teachers, psychologists and politicians.

"I've been quite suprised by the mature political thinking coming from high-school students," said one involved teacher who wishes to remain anonymous.

The urgency of the issue — which focuses on a call for equal and adequate education, but which embraces beyond this the very fundamental rejection of apartheid and "the system" — is being reflected in almost daily meetings held during the past week, meetings of students, parents and teachers, he said.

"Debate is raging and there is division between parents and students on the issue of returning to school. Parents want advancement for their children. And the students feel that not one of their demands have yet been met. Some feel the boycott should continue for a day or a week as a show of strength."

Behind the debate though seems to be an unprecedented solidarity. PTSAs — Parent, Teachers, Students Associations — are mushrooming to replace PTAs and the message is that the students are involved and will be heard.

"And these young voices are voluble at the meetings," said the teacher.

"For a long time we have been witnessing the 'youth revolution' because, I think, young people are determined their future will not be the same as it has been for their parents," said Mr Jan van Eck, PFP MPC spokesman on education.

"The protesting students have had leadership thrust on their shoulders, and sure there must be some anarchistic excitement in all the action, but one must not underestimate the anguish and anxiety they are experiencing."

He said it was "scary" to see the depth of awareness and politicisation among black and coloured pupils on the one hand against the "general trend at white schools to ensure that pupils are unaware and unformed".

"These two groups are tomorrow's adults and the gap between them is such that I'm concerned about them adressing each other — understanding each other — in the future."

Psychologist Sandy Lazarus, a lecturer at the University of Cape Town and involved in alternative educational programmes, said feelings of rage against the South African authorities must be a common experience for many students.

"Because they are young they have those universal ambivalent feelings towards authority anyway. But how much more difficult must it be for them to work through their present anger and frustration? Refusing their education now is partly an expression of desperation — in words I've heard often: 'I've had enough. How can I carry on normally?'"

"I think they must be racked with emotions now. They're having to deal not only with rage, but with a great deal of fear, uncertainty, frustration and despair. They are being forced to mature very rapidly — perhaps prematurely."

She saw positive spin-offs in the situation, however: "Many have developed amazing levels of competence. I'm astounded at how maturely they do deal with the situation facing them despite all the inner turmoil and external provocation. They appear to be making every effort to understand their experience and explore constructive ways of dealing with them."

"I think they deserve an ovation."

Educational psychologist Dr David Donald of UCT's education department added his voice to the warning: "Take them seriously".

"There can be no question that they are going through extreme emotional distress. And while what they are addressing are very real issues of equal education and political rights (and I endorse this call) it disturbs me as a psychologist that children are having to take on this adult responsibility."

"Adolescence according to Western norms is a time of finding and groping for identity, not a time to be forced into one."

Mr Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon, said that while young people in other environments were enjoying their youth, in his environment the youth "have to grapple with excruciating political and social issues".

The call by many students now for "Liberation first, then Education", reflected a hesitance to accept present norms with which to go into the future.

"But I think they also realise there is no true liberation without education — that education is an imperative and not negotiable. I would like to hear the call 'Education now, then Liberation', because the more educated you are the more effective the battle."

He said too that the protesting children could not be accused of having fun out there on the battlefield.

"Just the opposite. It's a traumatic experience for them and it spoils their chances of advancement through education."

Buried beneath the voice of protest, Mr Ken Andrew, PFP MP and a spokesman on education, identified the question put to the present system of education; the cry: "Where is this all leading me?"

"Students see ahead of them the frustration of unemployment and the ghetto trap, irrespective of what they've achieved educationally. I believe education is vital for a better South Africa and that 'Liberation now, then Education' is misguided."

But he understood the basis for this call, he said. "It is sad and tragic that the apartheid system has brought about this desperation and frustration. Young people don't want to wait and wait for change."

SOUTH AFRICA

PUBLICATION OUTLINES NATION'S DOMINANCE IN AFRICA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 16 Oct 85 p 9

[Text]

A CLEAR picture of South Africa's leading role in Africa — particularly Southern Africa — and in virtually every sphere of human endeavour and progress is reflected in an in-depth publication by the Africa Institute in Pretoria.

Newly released, the latest copy of the institute's *Africa Insight* is devoted entirely to nearly 250 pages of figures illustrating the current state of Africa's multiplicity of nations.

Analysis of the figures shows throughout that in all fields — bar a few such as petroleum and coffee production — South Africa is way ahead of the rest of Africa.

According to Dr Erich Leistner, director of the institute, a factual compendium such as the publication serves to remind the world of positive achievements which needed to be noted.

This was particularly true against the background of the consider-

able attention which was focused on Africa's economic failures and instability.

The book covers basic data about all African states, political data going back to independence and before, economic data and has a considerable section of maps and a large section of general information.

From figures in the field of general interest, it emerges for instance that South Africa has 113 telephones for every 1 000 people, compared with the world average of 121 — and 788 in the US.

In the Southern African context Angola has only six for each 1 000, Botswana 15, Lesotho four, Malawi five, Mozambique four, South West Africa 56, Swaziland 22, Zambia 10 and Zimbabwe 30.

South Africa has 49 000 km of paved roads and 21 324 km of railway lines, compared with Angola's 600 and 2 800 respectively; Botswana has

1 500 and 716, Lesotho 350 and two, Malawi 1 600 and 789, Mozambique 3 200 and 3 988, South West Africa 4 000 and 2 340, Swaziland 250 and 22; Zambia 3 000 and 2 188 and Zimbabwe 6 400 and 3 394.

South Africa also tops passenger car ownership by far — with the exception, for some reason, of Libya.

South Africans have 86 cars for each 1 000 people, compared with Libya's 144; infinitely higher, for instance, than Ethiopia's one car for each 1 000, Zaire's three, Uganda's one, Sudan's two and Tanzania's two.

Even in the Southern African context South Africa's private car ownership is far ahead of her neighbours.

Angola has 20 cars for each 1 000, Botswana 10, Lesotho three, Malawi three, Mozambique eight, Swaziland 25, South West Africa 50, Zambia 17 and Zimbabwe 30.

SOUTH AFRICA

'PROSPECTS FOR 1986' REVIEWED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 16 Oct 85 p 25

[Text]

SOUTH Africa will have to re-establish its good name in the international financial markets in 1986, the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch says in a publication, "Prospects for 1986," released yesterday.

The Bureau said the factors that led to the announcement of a standstill in the repayment of South Africa's foreign debt, and the reintroduction of a financial rand have cast a long shadow over the economic prospects for next year.

Instead of reviving vigorously after more than a year of substantial domestic downward adjustment together with sharply rising exports and five quarters of current account surplus, the economy will at best see the start, during the second quarter of 1986, of a mild upswing in consumer spending and inventory investment, the Bureau said.

"This will still leave total real domestic expenditure only marginally above the low level reached after a decline of around seven per cent during 1985.

"Because of improved agricultural conditions, a

further fall in imports, and a small further rise in exports, total domestic output should rise by nearly three percent.

"Even so, this will not be sufficient to stem the rise in unemployment that commenced in mid-1984."

The trends in imports and exports should produce an even larger surplus on the current account of the balance of payments.

However, even with a weak recovery, the surplus will start to narrow from mid-year onwards, raising warning signals about the extent to which domestic demand can be allowed to revive in an environment where South Africa is unable to attract foreign capital and where there is an obligation to repay foreign debt.

"If, in coming years, South Africa is to return even part of the way towards a normal growth path for a developing country, foreign capital will again have to be attracted to this country.

"Calendar 1986 will have to be the year in which South Africa re-establishes its good name in the international financial markets.

"Part of this process will require the exhibiting of willingness and ability to prevent inflation from getting out of hand and the redeeming of a significant portion of short-term foreign debt.

"Both of these issues have inescapable implications for the extent to which the monetary and fiscal policies can be used to bring about economic expansion."

The Bureau says recent events, and the excessive short-term foreign borrowing that preceded them, have drastically limited the Government's room for traditional economic policy manoeuvre.

This has, of necessity, led to much "lateral" thinking about other options for stimulating economic growth without adversely affecting the balance of payments.

Instituting import controls had been mooted, but these would, on balance, be harmful.

If such controls were not to damage the production structure of the economy, they could be applied only to a limited range of goods, and even then might provoke retaliation.

The other options

should include very rapid progress along the path of deregulation and privatisation on which the government had already embarked.

"Given the external constraints under which the economy is operating, it seems unlikely that any imaginative solutions outside the sphere of the traditional monetary and fiscal policies, or monetary and fiscal risk-taking, will provide an economy vigorous enough to quell unrest and permit any delay of further political reform.

"The casualty will rather run the other way . . . the longer the unrest and turmoil last, the poorer the performance of the economy will be."

The Bureau expects the total domestic demand to continue to decline until about the first quarter of 1986, before beginning to recover, "but even then the recovery will be rather slow and sluggish especially with regard to final sales."

"Companies orientated towards satisfying domestic demand, therefore, again cannot expect much joy during the course of 1986. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER OWEN ON SANCTIONS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 24 Sep 85 p 6

[Interview with former British Labour Foreign Minister Dr David Owen,
by John Battersby]

[Text]

Dr DAVID OWEN, a former British Labour Foreign Minister, is the leader of the centrist Social Democratic Party (SDP), formed in 1981, and leader of the SDP/Liberal Alliance. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has predicted he will be the next non-Tory British prime minister. It is part of the

political wisdom of Whitehall that what the SDP is doing today the Tories are more than likely to be doing tomorrow. In the latest opinion polls the Alliance has moved well ahead of Labour and the Tories, following its recent annual conference. Owen's claim that the Alliance will hold the

balance-of-power — or even win outright — at the next election is sounding more credible than ever. Here he gives JOHN BATTERSBY his views on South Africa — an increasingly delicate foreign policy issue on the British stage — in a face-to-face interview

BATTERSBY: at last week's SDP conference your party endorsed a policy of selective economic sanctions against SA, including a loan and investment freeze and a tougher code of conduct for British firms with operations in SA.

Your motivation, as I understand it, is to contribute to a more rapid pace of evolutionary change rather than precipitate a revolution. Do you not fear that adding your voice to the sanctions campaign could create a momentum which rolls inevitably on towards a crippling trade embargo and total disinvestment?

OWEN: I don't think it will roll inevitably on. It will roll if there is no response — if the clamp-down gets more severe, if there is no shift, if there are no negotiations with representative black leaders.

SEVERAL months ago you were involved in an exchange of correspondence with Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, in which you suggested Britain should initiate a limited package of sanctions in the UN Security Council. But Britain has now emerged as SA's "lone protector". How long do you think the UK government will be able to sustain this decision?

A COUPLE of months. I don't know what the UN Security Council tactics will be ... but it would not be difficult to isolate Britain, for example, if those countries who feel strongly about sanctions put a motion down in exactly the same terms as the Executive Order issued by President Reagan.

If they called for mandatory sanctions on the basis of the threat to the peace existing in Namibia — which is the rationale for the current Resolution on the arms embargo — I would have

thought that it would be very difficult for the Americans to veto — with Britain alone — such a resolution.

The Americans would probably abstain and Britain would have great difficulty vetoing alone. If it was to veto alone it would face — within a matter of months — losing a very considerable amount of trade in other markets. There would be retaliation against Britain. But the rest of the world is not too keen to take retaliation against the US, because it is big and powerful.

WHAT ROLE does the Commonwealth play in this process of isolating Britain internationally?

OF COURSE, Britain will come under immense pressure on this issue at the Commonwealth heads of government meeting next month. We're dangerously isolated and have been publicly humiliated, in the sense that Thatcher has been let down by President Reagan, who had to respond to a very considerable shift in Republican sentiment in the

Senate and the House of Representatives.

WHAT DO you regard as a realistic sanctions package against SA at this stage?

THE PACKAGE which I think is realistic to introduce at the moment is not disinvestment. Existing companies should be made to follow a code of practice, which should be tougher than the Sullivan Code.

I was the person who drafted the EEC Code in 1978 and, at that time, it was tougher than the Sullivan Code. What has happened is that the EEC have done nothing in the meantime while the Sullivan Code has been regularly tightened up. The EEC code has lapsed pretty badly.

But disinvestment would undermine the basic stability of SA. That may come, but I certainly wouldn't encourage disinvestment through the law. If individual companies find they can't conduct business in SA on non-racialist lines then they should withdraw.

DO YOU think that Britain should fall in line with the rest of the EEC on the withdrawal of military attaches and the severing of cultural links?

I DON'T think they are really important, but I am in favour of doing it for the sake of EEC solidarity. But I don't delude myself that it makes much difference. But the EEC position has already lagged behind the Americans.

The first time that the EEC will really come under pressure will be as a result of Security Council moves. I must add, though, that I am in favour of dialogue with SA. I didn't attack Thatcher for talking to Botha. I would talk to Botha. I have negotiated with both of the Bothas.

WOULD YOU see the tightened code of conduct, then, as more important than the loan and investment freeze which you also advocate?

NO. THE two are important together. But there is a further qualification on the loan and investment freeze. We would implement this under Community legislation, and where it was obvious that a loan or investment project was almost wholly for the benefit of the black community, I would allow an exemption.

I wouldn't allow an exemption at the say-so of the various national governments, because they would all cheat. But if the European Commission was involved in granting the authorisation they would be able to ensure that it was not just an exercise in avoiding sanctions.

The advantage of using the EEC, rather than the UN, is that if one felt there really had been serious political progress towards genuine negotiation in SA you could lift sanctions.

One of the worries that has always existed about putting sanctions on at the UN is getting them off again. That is why it would be better, too, at the UN to cross the economic sanctions threshold under the threat to the

peace existing in Namibia (rather than the internal situation in SA).

This would mean that, if SA did move on Namibia and started to move internally, you would not be saddled with sanctions in perpetuity. I am interested in a calculated strategy which might have some impact on SA. But I wouldn't hesitate to up the ante to a threat to the peace in SA itself. There is certainly abundant evidence for a threat to the peace on this basis.

COULD THE involvement of government in granting exemptions not become rather cumbersome?

THE ADVANTAGE of government involvement is that it does legitimise the private sanctions that are being applied at the moment (the capital boycott by US banks). Private sanctions are, of course, by far the most powerful. They are being applied for reasons of self-interest, because the banks doubt the capacity of the SA government to pay.

There is no doubt that if there was a ban on new bank loans applied by government it would make it harder for the private banking community to come back in a couple of months time as though nothing had happened. I think things have already passed the point of no return as far as that is concerned.

DO YOU think that the capital boycott and the resultant economic crisis has, in effect, overshadowed the whole sanctions debate?

YES. It's far more important — far more effective. But had there not been the earlier discussion and somewhat reluctant — but committed — feeling that we had to cross the threshold of economic sanctions, it might not have happened.

I changed position on this a year-and-a-half ago because I felt it couldn't be avoided. The people who take a sustained, serious interest in SA — but who aren't vindictive — have increasingly been moving towards some form of economic sanctions.

I RESPECT their arguments, but in neither case are they right.

WHAT DO you say to the argument that SA blacks and the economies of neighbouring states — which are intertwined with that of SA — will be hardest hit by sanctions?

THAT IS up to the SA government. If they decide to do it — I think that they probably will — we will have to try to offset that. But I don't think we can go on being blackmailed by what they will or won't do.

And I don't think their record of trustworthiness is such that you can take their word on any aspect of international affairs. The raid on Botswana was an outrageous attack. They have not held to the Nkomati Accord. They have continued raids into Angola after the ceasefire. It is an outrageous record.

DO YOU not think that the West should be prepared to pay a price for a stable SA — that the negative element of sanctions needs to be matched with a positive thrust?

THE POSITION of the British political parties do have both elements. It is an attempt to try to wield both a stick and a carrot. The purpose of exemptions on new loans and investment is to be able to give some encouragement.

I also do not see one-man-one-vote and a winner-takes-all system as the only constitutional solution in SA. I am in favour of one-man-one-vote, but I am also in favour of proportional representation. Where you have a powerful entrenched minority, such as the whites, I am in favour of giving them some form of power-sharing arrangement.

DOES THAT mean minority guarantees for the whites?

WELL, I drafted them into the Zimbabwe constitution and they look as though they are going to hold for the period of transition.

But the SA situation is very different. It is not a colonial situation.

Some degree of safeguards can be written into constitutions. But I think it is better to construct some form of constitution which has got power-sharing built into it.

WAS THATCHER'S instruction to the Bank of England not to bail out the rand her first concession to economic pressure?

WELL, it's pretty illegitimate to argue after that, that economic pressure never has any effect. The interesting thing about the private sanctions that have been taken on the capital market is its effect on the whole argument that economic sanctions have no effect and tend to drive the government into a laager.

This ritualistic stuff one always hears from the SA lobby has been shown to be a load of codswollop. The SA government will listen to power. They are very pragmatic. The question is how you apply it.

WHAT SIGNIFICANCE do you attach to the meeting between leading SA businessmen and leaders of the ANC?

I THINK it was significant. They were significant people who did it in defiance of the government. Inasmuch it begins to put business ahead of the government, that is a good thing.

WHAT IS the SDP policy on contact with the ANC? Would an Alliance government receive the ANC leadership at ministerial level?

I HAVE seen Oliver Tambo (the ANC president) and I would see him again. Ministerial contact would depend on what the ANC was saying at the time. I wouldn't legitimise armed struggle. But I would be encouraging contact between the ANC and the businessmen.

WHAT ROLE do you see for the KwaZulu leader, Chief Buthelezi? **THE GRAVEST** danger for Buthelezi is that the government will persuade him to break ranks to try and divide and rule. This would be a very great mistake, which would backfire on the government. It would hasten the day of violence.

It has been the government's technique throughout Southern Africa and it has been a very abysmal failure. It is too late, now, for that. It would also set a lot of the Zulus against Buthelezi.

I have always thought he has had a very difficult role to play. I grow increasingly worried that he will be pressurised by the SA government. I hope that he will not move another inch towards being used in that way. He has the potential to contribute towards an evolution, but not in isolation against the tide of serious opinion.

DO YOU agree with the Liberal Party's proposal for a trade embargo against SA and a ban on SAA flights to EEC countries?

A **TRADE** embargo would not work, and banning flights is a gesture which I considered in 1978. It would leave the way open for the Swiss to cheat. They would clean up.

But these are all pressures. Who is to say these won't be applied a few years down the track? I wouldn't say no to a trade embargo in perpetuity if they started to turn the whole country into

a police state. If they clamped down and eradicated every civil liberty.

SA must understand now that sanctions are here, now, as a permanent feature of international life. The screw is on and it's going to stay on. Every time somebody has just got to give it a bit more twist. The only say they have got is the pace at which that screw comes down.

But the pressure one applies has got to be judged carefully to the situation — it has got to allow for peaceful change. But it's the internal economic pressure which will actually make the changes.

WHAT WOULD you do if you found yourself in P W Botha's shoes?

THE REAL question is: has he got the imagination to be able to genuinely negotiate? He hasn't negotiated a thing. He has handed everything down.

Once you start negotiating you are no longer setting the agenda. Others have an input, so you no longer have the luxury of exclusion, which Botha has had up to now. In Nelson Mandela you have a natural leader. The chances for getting a negotiated settlement are always vastly enhanced if you have a real leader.

Botha has to develop a programme of power-sharing and negotiate a deal which would give the white minority a large deal of government autonomy in their own areas. It is going to be very tough, and the temptation is that you think you can get away without doing it.

SOUTH AFRICA

IMPACT OF SANCTIONS EVALUATED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 27 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by Peter Honey: "Sanctions: South Africa Will Feel the Pinch"]

[Text]

FOUR OF the five nations responsible for most of the foreign investment in this country have now accepted the principle of sanctions against South Africa — though not necessarily economic sanctions.

More than 90% of foreign investment in SA is accounted for by Britain, the US, West Germany, France and Switzerland. In accordance with its traditional policy of neutrality, only Switzerland continues to hold out against sanctions.

The floodgates were reopened by the US, when public opinion forced President Ronald Reagan on September 10 to approve a package of measures restricting most loans to SA, exports of nuclear technology, computers for armed forces, and enjoining US firms in SA to take a tougher line against apartheid.

Anti-apartheid legislation is legion in the US. At least 10 states have already passed laws prohibiting the investment of state pension funds in companies with SA ties. Others, like Connecticut, Iowa, Maryland, Nebraska and Rhode Island, will only invest pension money if the subsidiaries are top-rated Sullivan Code signatories.

More than 30 US cities have in the past year passed laws forbidding city and municipal pension funds from investing in SA-linked companies.

Several US public institutions — more recently New York State and Rutgers universities — have voted to divest themselves of millions of dollars in stocks held in companies doing business in SA.

The recent report of the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations says by the end of 1983 direct foreign investments — mainly in the sectors of petroleum, motor vehicles, chemicals, electronics and banking — totalled between \$15.5b (R38,75b) and \$17b (R42,5b) — about 10% of the country's total investment.

Another 20% of capital stock is held by foreigners in portfolio investments.

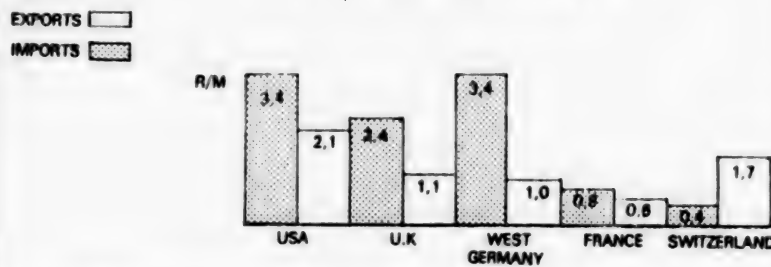
The report says in 1984 there were about 1 068 transnationals with a minimum 10% equity holding in SA — 406 based in the US, 364 in Britain and 142 in West Germany — employing about 600 000 South Africans out of a total workforce of 10-million. Two-thirds of these are black or coloured.

The view that disinvestment would lead to serious job shortages in SA has been contested by two Natal University academics, Michael Sutcliffe and Paul Wellings.

They point out in a recent article that most foreign investment in SA is indirect, in the form of loans and shares, and "very few forms of indirect investment are job-creating," they say.

Sutcliffe and Wellings suggest the presence of foreign capital in fact has a negative impact on employment because the concomitant infusion of new technology often tends towards capital-intensive production, limiting development of local technology and importing foreign personnel.

S.A. TRADE WITH LEADING INVESTOR NATIONS



What this overlooks, however, is that SA depends on foreign capital for a proportion of its growth. Without that capital, our economic growth rate will slow down — as will our job-creating ability.

Events of the past few months seem to support the view that government's inability to deal effectively with the violence and political discord within the country is at least as dangerous to the economy as foreign sanctions.

Foreign economic sanctions are punitive measures applied for political or moral reasons. But most of the damage this year has been caused by a lack of foreign confidence in SA's political stability.

In the last year or so some 30 foreign companies have either pulled out altogether or decided to reduce their stakes in the country. These include such household names as Pepsi, Pan Am, Singer, International Harvester and Helena Rubinstein.

Apple Computer was one of the few who said it was withdrawing for moral rather than commercial reasons.

Reserve Bank figures show a net flight of nearly R500m from the country between May and July after a consistent inflow of capital up until April. The August figures, preceding the Reserve Bank's clamp on funds leaving the country, are expected to confirm this trend when they are released later this month.

Some foreign companies are reported to be legally sidestepping the foreign exchange restrictions by paying out larger dividends to their shareholders abroad.

Until autumn of this year there had been a consistent flow of funds into the JSE — R60m in April alone.

But in the three months from May to July the net outflow amounted to nearly R500m — R108m in May, R188m in June and R200m in July — mostly through the stock exchange.

Of course, exports have flourished because of the low value of the rand — caused partly by the refusal of US banks to roll over loans — to the extent that the Reserve Bank still expects a current account surplus of R5b by the end of the year.

It is a measure of how vulnerable the economy is to outside pressures that the country should be in such financial trouble at a time when the money supply and balance of payments are basically sound.

This is how SA's five biggest investor nations measure up:

● Britain: In March *The Economist* reported British companies were by far the biggest corporate investors in SA, accounting for about \$8bn (R20bn) — half the total direct foreign investment.

The US Study Commission on US Policy towards Southern Africa re-

ported in 1981 that British investment was 55% of total direct investment.

The British Department of Trade and Industry says Britain has more than \$14bn (R35bn) invested directly or indirectly in SA — about 10% of total British foreign investment.

The UK-SA Trade Association says SA is Britain's 12th largest export market.

Britain ranks third in trade with SA, led by the US and Japan. In 1984 SA exported \$742m (R1 855bn) to Britain and imported \$1,66bn (R4,15bn), according to the IMF's 1985 Direction of Trade Statistics.

Experts say the British economy would be hurt by sanctions against SA. It has a 13,5% unemployment rate.

Analyst John de St Jorre writes in a recent article for Georgetown University's Centre for Strategic and International Studies that about 150 000 British jobs are dependent on trade with SA.

● **United States:** SA's largest trading partner and second leading investor, with between 18% and 20% of total direct investment, according to various reports.

It went from \$490m (R1,225bn) in 1966 to a peak of \$2,6bn (R6,5bn) in 1981 to \$2,3bn (R5,75bn) at the end of 1983. US State Department calculated the US had \$7bn (R17,5bn) in portfolios, giving a total direct and indirect investment of \$9,3bn in 1983.

Congressman George Leland, an advocate of total disinvestment from SA, says US corporations control at least 6% of fixed capital stock in SA's manufacturing industries, 24% in the motor industry, 44% in petroleum and 70% in the computer industry.

SA accounts for about 1% of total US foreign investment, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Centre in Washington.

The US imported \$1,45bn (R3,625bn) from SA and exported \$2,37bn (R5,925bn) to SA last year.

A Congressional Republican study committee said in May about a fifth of SA exports to the US consisted of gold

coins or Krugerrands. US Treasury estimates 1984 Krugerrands sales in US amounted to \$600m (R1,5bn) — about 50% of SA's Krugerrand exports.

● **West Germany:** Accounts for about 10% of total foreign investment in SA which, in 1983 was \$1,4bn (R3,5bn), according to the SA embassy in London. It jumped by 30% during that year, mainly because of increased investment in the automobile industry, according to the UN report.

IMF reports that SA exports to West Germany were \$676m (R1,69bn) and imports \$2,3bn (R5,75bn) last year.

West Germany is SA's fifth largest trading partner, after Britain, the US, Japan and Switzerland.

The Institute of European Economic Studies in London says economic sanctions against SA would cost West Germany 130 000 jobs.

● **France:** Accounts for between 5% and 10% of total foreign investment in SA. In 1984 French investments in SA totalled \$1,66bn (R4,15bn) — about 10% of total direct foreign investment in SA, according to the French Embassy in Washington.

SA exported \$385m (R962,5m) to France and imported \$568m (R1,42bn) last year.

● **Switzerland:** Accounts for about 5%-10% of SA's foreign investment. The UK-SA Trade Association reported total Swiss investment at \$1,34bn (R3,35bn) in 1982.

This country is important because almost half SA's gold exports pass through Zurich and because it is a major foreign loan source.

Not since the Carter administration, during which period the US imposed selective economic sanctions and the UN introduced an arms boycott, has the issue of economic sanctions against SA been so threatening.

The perceived failure of those sanctions led many people to believe sanctions could not work — in the sense of bringing about constructive change. But there is little doubt sanctions can and will hurt the SA economy.

SOUTH AFRICA

SANCTIONS TO HAVE 'SERIOUS' CONSEQUENCES ON GROWTH

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 8 Oct 85 p 8

[Article by Dr R.W. Bethlehem]

[Text]

A NUMBER of economic analysts, including official spokesmen, have made the point that economic sanctions are going to force South Africa into being a net exporter of capital over the next five years. The consequences of that for economic growth will be very serious.

Growth requires capital formation, and capital formation requires financing. Developing countries, like SA, do not normally generate a volume of domestic saving sufficient to provide the capital formation necessary for internal development, and so it is natural that they import needed funds.

John Tilston's table in *Business Day* of September 11, summarised the relationships. What the table did not show, however, was:

- 1) the extent of the deterioration in the growth of the South African economy since the late Sixties;
- 2) the increase in our dependence on imported capital after 1980;
- 3) the secular decline that is evident in the real return on capital in SA; and
- 4) the likely consequences for growth, inflation and investment returns of any extended capital outflow during the period between now and 1988.

The tables and graphs given here illustrate these points. As can be seen from Figure 1, real GDP growth averaged only 1,2% in the 1980-4 period. This compared with an average growth rate of nearly 3,7% in the period 1976-1980, but both these figures are significantly below the 5% pa considered to be the potential growth rate for real GDP (on a sustained basis)

in the last published Economic Development Programme.

Of particular significance in the decline of domestic saving and consequent increase in dependence on foreign capital is the virtual collapse of personal saving and saving by the government sector during the 1976-80 period. During the period since 1980, their contribution has been barely 12%.

Had it not been for an average annual capital inflow of R953m since 1980, the increase in real GDP of 1,2% would certainly not have been realised. One is driven to the conclusion that any return to a net capital outflow in present circumstances will quickly force real GDP growth into negative territory.

During 1976-80 there was an annual average net capital outflow of R1 211m but, despite this, some recovery in the net reserves was achieved. That is shown in Figure 3.

What is disturbing about the prospect for growth is that we start out at the beginning of the 1984-88 period with net reserves

that are negative, and so no longer have the reserve cushion with which to finance part of our future investment requirements.

The poor performance of growth during the 1980-4 period is the more remarkable because it occurred when the gold price (in dollars as well as in rand per ounce — see Figure 2) was the highest it had ever pre-

viously been, even adjusting for inflation.

(It should be noted that the definition of net reserves used here is not strictly comparable to that used by the Reserve Bank in its calculations, but the difference is not material and in no way affects the conclusions indicated).

Figure 4 makes clear that the return on capital in SA is in clear secular decline. During the period 1968-76, the ratio of average real GDP to the average of the real fixed capital stock was approximately 43,4%.

During 1976-84 it fell to 35,5%, but within this period further decline is again evident. Thus the ratio was 36,9% in the 1976-80 period, but it averaged only 34,7% during 1980-4. With the continuing rise in our domestic cost structure and the decline which is taking place in the rate of growth of real GDP, there is little prospect of this major trend being reversed in the foreseeable future.

This is a problem of some importance to the capital outflow that is now being imposed on us. We need no gratuitous help from misguided or opportunistic politicians! Capital inflows are a function of risk and return.

Aggravation

The return aspect of trade-off is deteriorating and its effect on capital flows would be compounded by any further aggravation of the risk aspect. What the situation calls for is all the rational ingenuity and stolid forbearance we can muster. Wild responses have no place in the present challenging situation.

What might happen is suggested by the projections in Figures 1 and 4 for the 1984-8 period. This provides for an average annual capital outflow in current rands of nearly R4 000m, which looks large but is not really much bigger than the average annual outflow recorded in 1976-80 when adjustment is made for inflation.

Figure 1 — Growth and the financing of investment

	8 Year Periods		4 Year Periods		
	1968	1976-84	1976-80	1980-84	1984-88*
Per Cent — Per Annum					
Real GDP Growth	4.11	2.44	3.88	1.23	0.73
Current Prices — Rm					
Gross Domestic Saving	4 618	16 798	13 328	21 340	33 786
Gross Domestic Investment	6 373	17 042	12 174	22 368	29 934
Shortfall (=BoP Curr. Acc. Deficit)	(754)	(244)	1 184	(1 028)	3 852
Financed as Follows:					
Net Capital Inflow (Outflow)	722	111	(1 211)	953	(3 852)
Change in Reserves	32	133	87	78	—
Percentage of Total					
Personal Saving	28	14	21	11	18
Corporate Saving	15	30	27	33	30
Saving of General Gov.	13	3	8	1	8
Prov. for Depreciation	47	53	44	55	47
Gross Domestic Saving Ratio — %					
GDS/GDI	86.0	98.6	109.5	95.4	112.9
GDS/GDP	24.7	27.1	31.2	28.3	25.0

Figure 2 — Gold price

	8 Year Periods		4 Year Periods	
	1968-76	1976-84	1976-80	1980-84
Dollars/oz				
Actual	84.11	346.70	277.14	469.50
Real*	57.74	132.62	123.99	162.62
Rand/oz				
Actual	82.05	322.58	227.85	488.17
Real*	36.71	86.29	79.93	103.80
Rand-Dollar Exchange Rate	1.3558	1.0747	1.2163	1.0476

Figure 3 — Net reserve position

Position at end Period Rm	Dec. 1978	Dec. 1980	Dec. 1983	Dec. 1984	June 1985
Reserve Bank					
Gold 000s/oz	12 690	12 183	7 780	7 366	6 512
Gold	1 476	4 854	3 250	4 047	3 637
Forex	389	413	916	342	856
Total	1 865	5 267	4 166	4 389	4 493
Rest of Banking Sector	142	387	720	842	521
Central Government	2	139	83	93	137
Hidden Reserve	1 119	488	347	454	438
Grand Total — Gross	3 098	6 279	5 315	5 778	5 589
Less Short-term Liab.	(1 732)	(873)	(4 458)	(6 093)	(5 615)
Net Reserves	1 366	5 406	857	(316)	(26)
Monthly Import Rate (MIR)					
Gross Reserves/MIR	536	1 182	1 882	1 840	1 787
Net Reserves/MIR	3.7	5.3	2.8	3.5	3.1
	2.5	4.5	0.8	0.2	—
Gold Price:					
Dollars — per oz	133.70	698.50	379.52	308.30	315.00
Rand — per oz	116.30	450.10	461.70	211.10	619.47
r-\$ Exchange Rate	1.1600	1.3294	0.8220	0.5048	0.5086
\$m					
Gross Total	2 694	4 723	4 369	2 914	2 842
Less S/T Foreign Debt	(1 806)	(657)	(3 684)	(3 074)	(2 865)
Net Total	1 188	4 066	705	(160)	(13)

In such circumstances, our level of gross domestic investment (fixed investment plus inventory investment) would be only 88% of our gross domestic savings and real GDP growth would decline to well under 1% pa. In per capita terms, that would imply a decline of about 1.5% pa because population growth is, itself, around 2.5% each year.

For living standards, but especially for the living standards of groups already close to the poverty datum line, this would amount to a big deterioration. When real incomes on average decline by 1.5%, the incomes of many can be expected to decline by more than 10% because some incomes (linked to still-expanding industries) will actually increase. In short, for great numbers of people the decline in income will mean they will eat less than they did previously.

Now let us impose on this heavy putting down of social unrest — as has been suggested by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and others. The results are not hard to imagine. Not only would our immediate financing difficulties be dramatically worsened but the threat to our export receivables would be immediate.

Indeed, as these words are being written, that threat has increased alarmingly (without Treurnicht's help), and in a number of critical areas business is beginning to be diverted away from SA, either because of threats of overseas trade union action or because of precautionary moves by foreign users of our metals and minerals worried about their current dependence on us, and about the future cost and continuity of their supplies.

Speaking plainly, they are distancing from trouble for pragmatic reasons and who can doubt that they would distance themselves more were a Treurnicht-type of policy to compound international outrage.

The point, finally, would be reached where decent people overseas, who previously we had counted among our friends and who had been prepared, even during very discouraging circumstances, to be understanding of our complex problems, would turn away finally in disgust and revulsion.

(It is an irony we have to learn to live with in the post-Holocaust era, that genocide has ceased to be a policy option for all Europeans. What non-Europeans do to one another is one thing. How Europeans behave both with respect to themselves and to others, is another).

And whites in SA, in terms of their own assertions of affiliation, are European and Western. The double standards lament loses value viewed in this light and exposes the fallacy of the call to oppose Third World unrest with Third World-type repression.

To accept that would be either to reject what being European and Western is supposed to mean, or to foster the perpetuation of a moral schizophrenia that permits one category of official response to persons of one's own race and a different category of official response to persons of another.

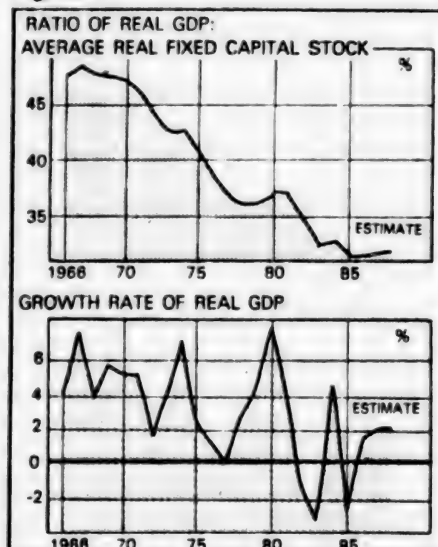
Presently, the one thing we have going for us economically is a BoP current account surplus of about R6 000m a year (nearly \$2 500m at \$0.40). This needs to be contrasted with the total of our overseas debt of about R60 000m (\$24 000m), well over 50% of nominal GDP.

It takes no great computational ability to estimate an amortisation period in excess of 10 years, but it would be quite wrong to take the current account surplus for granted.

Firstly, there is a problem of cyclical variation. The surplus is a result of both favourable conditions in export markets and recession at home. Both these will change in time.

Secondly, the buoyancy of our exports is also the product of a finely balanced demand for primary materials of which we are often large but by no means monopolistic suppliers. Any cutting off of export

Figure 4



revenues necessitates an immediate resort to a siege economy with all that that would imply for coercive controls and a generalised sacrifice of civil liberties.

It should be realised, too, that without the export sector sustenance of domestic economic activity would fall back heavily on public sector spending. But with Exchequer revenues in collapse, this could only be achieved by resort to massive deficit financing.

To prevent long-term interest rates from rising excessively, financial institutions would have to be coerced into holding still higher levels of public sector fixed income securities, but this would be insufficient as a means of checking monetary explosion and, ultimately (although not necessarily initially) aggravated inflation.

Long-term interest rates (but not short-term interest rates) would rise, the capital value of fixed income savings would be smashed and the value of the rand, both domestically and in exchange markets, would fall sharply away from even its presently excessively depressed level. That, truly, would be a scenario too ghastly to contemplate.

(Statistical sources: South African Reserve Bank, Central Statistical Services)

Dr Bethlehem is the group economics consultant of a leading mining finance house. This article, the first of three, is an expression of his personal views and not those of his company.

CSO: 34 /198

SOUTH AFRICA

SCC OFFICIAL ON RESOLUTION OF DEBT CRISIS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 8 Oct 85 p 2

[Interview of Chris Stals, Director-General of Finance and chairman of the Standstill Coordinating Committee (SCC), with BUSINESS DAY--time and place not given]

[Text]

BD: There has been some criticism that the SCC has not formulated any strategy in dealing with the current financial crisis. What has the committee done since it was constituted?

Stals: The committee was actually only appointed two weeks ago. We first had to set up our administrative machinery and rent separate offices which had to be fully equipped. We have employed five people on a full-time basis from various fields. We have someone from the Development Bank, the Reserve Bank, and the Department of Finance. We also have appointed a full-time legal advisor, and an ex-chief dealer of one of the banks.

The second level of activity has been concentrated on establishing contact with various groups affected by the arrangements, and explaining the situation to them. We have also had to ask them for their support. We have had meetings with the foreign exchange dealers in all the banks in SA. We've met with Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei as well as with Swaziland and Lesotho. We've also seen people in the public corporations, as well as bodies such as Assocom, FCI, AHI and Nafcoc.

We have designed a questionnaire which will be sent to every company and private individual that had a foreign liability on August 31. They must report that liability to us, and we are sending out 70 000 forms this week for that purpose. Every liability must be registered with the Reserve Bank for the discussions we will be having.

Of course, we have finalised the appointment of Fritz Leutwiler, as the mediator for any negotiations that will take place with the banks over the next few months. We have made preliminary arrangements for a meeting with the creditor banks on October 23. We are busy working on the background information that we will make available at that meeting and this is quite comprehensive.

We have revised the original proclamation on the standstill arrangements in which the controls are amended -- that is, they have been clarified and redefined. It is not really so much of a change as a fine-tuning of the situation.

We had about 300 telexes and letters mainly from foreign banks querying the implications of the standstill -- and we have answered over 250 of these.

We have formed a number of technical sub-committees in specialised areas such as forward foreign exchange transactions and trade financing.

How confident are you now that the standstill will have been worthwhile and that conditions affecting foreign capital flows will improve?

It all depends on the reaction of SA's foreign creditors. I explained to some US bankers recently that our first objective would be to get a technical-financial-banking framework within which we can work. I stressed that although we realise there are political considerations, the committee must leave this out of the discussion for the time being. The bankers replied that such an agree-

ment could be reached there and then if I wanted to, making it clear that the financial problem itself is small as far as they are concerned. It is the political arena which is obviously more problematic.

Is the committee then going to divorce itself completely from political considerations in negotiations with the foreign creditors?

Absolutely. As I stressed to these US bankers, that once we have finished with the purely technical financial matters, we may have to change teams, and bring in the politicians. The bankers have just as much an interest as solving this problem as we have.

But political decisions cannot be taken at the level of discussions between bankers. The problems will come in discussions at other levels. I am confident now, however, that we can work out an acceptable financial arrangement.

How important is the current IMF meeting for SA at this stage?

It is not the meeting itself, but rather the gathering of bankers from all over the world that is important for us right now. We must make our presence felt and use the opportunity to talk to them in their individual capacities. We need to be available to discuss their problems with the standstill arrangements and answer any queries. As such, I will not be attending many of the scheduled meetings, but will be talking with as many of SA's creditor nations as possible.

One of the most severe problems for the domestic economy is the continued pressure on the rand. Now you have a clearer picture of the extent of the problem, do you believe these pressures will lift by the end of the year?

We see it as a priority to meet our commitments. So, at this stage, our ob-

jective is to create a balance in the foreign exchange market, and have more stability, with a continued outflow of money to meet our foreign liabilities. We think this is now starting to take place.

There is obviously still pressure on the currency, but what we want to avoid is a further massive depreciation of the rand. We are confident that the situation is more stable. Dealers are now quoting spreads of just eight or nine points, whereas three weeks ago the spreads were as much as three cents.

We introduced this standstill because the Reserve Bank was not in a position to provide huge amounts of dollars to the markets any longer. It didn't have the dollars then and it doesn't have them now.

Nor can it go very far in providing support to the market by selling dollars because, like everyone else, the Reserve Bank is short of dollars. Unless it is prepared to do more gold swaps, the position is not likely to improve in the short-term.

With the continuing surplus on the current account, however, you will find that after the present adjustments have worked themselves out, the rand may appreciate a little.

Do you believe the controls imposed in the standstill could be lifted by the end of this year?

I envisage phasing out the controls as conditions improve rather than having a cut-off date when they are all lifted on December 31. We will hopefully be in a position to make concessions as we go along, even before December. What we are working very hard on now -- and we will be taking this up with the foreign creditors -- is where this phasing out can begin, and when we can start relaxing the controls.

SOUTH AFRICA

VICTIMS OF UNREST COMPLAIN OF TARDY INSURANCE PAYOUTS

Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS (Business) in English 28 Sep 85 p 1

[Article by Stephen Robinson]

[Text]

CAPE traders whose buildings and vehicles have been destroyed in the recent violence are having to wait several months for insurance payments to be settled, even if they have taken out special political riot cover.

Some businesses could go bankrupt as a result of the delays they are facing in receiving compensation for damaged buildings and vehicles.

The political riot insurance scheme, the South African Special Risks Insurance Association (SASRIA) has been flooded with claims recently, and severe delays are being experienced.

POWERLESS

Sasria was set up in 1979 after the Soweto riots when insurance companies became increasingly reluctant to extend riot cover. It is administered jointly by the major insurance companies and the government.

Mr Lindsay Misplon, of Glen-

vaal Insurance Brokers, said some of his clients were finding it difficult to continue trading because they cannot replace damaged delivery vehicles.

"We are powerless to do anything about it, but we feel our clients are getting a bad deal. A normal case which was insured through a insurance company would be settled within 10 days, yet one of my clients has been waiting since May to be paid out."

SERIOUS PROBLEMS

Sasria has no office presence outside of Johannesburg, and insurance brokers complain that this leads to serious problems of communication.

The claims manager of one of the major insurance brokers in Cape Town said some of his clients in the Eastern Cape had waited over six months for settlement of claims arising from incidents in October last year.

"We now fear that our clients in the Western Cape will experience similar delays."

Sasria has granted the insurance companies the right to make interim discretionary payments of up to R2 000.

However, the insurance companies are reluctant to make these payments as there is a disclaimer clause in this agreement which states that claims wrongfully granted by the insurance companies will not be settled by Sasria.

Mr Don Gallimore, chairman of the South African Insurance Brokers Association's liaison committee with Sasria, said his organisation was aware of problems with the processing of claims.

BUREAUCRACY

"We are meeting Sasria next week to discuss the situation, but we feel that the real problem lies with the bureaucracy rather than Sasria's reluctance to pay out."

When contacted at its Johannesburg office yesterday, Sasria declined to comment on the delays as the organisation's only spokesman was on holiday.

SOUTH AFRICA

AHI CONFERENCE EXAMINES ECONOMY, DEVELOPMENT

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 7 Oct 85 p 3

[Articles by Mark Loudon]

[Text]

GOVERNMENT steps to stimulate the economy could plunge the country into even greater trouble, leading to an inflation rate of up to 25% in 1987, Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut's vice-president Christie Kuun has warned.

Kuun, who is also senior general manager of Saambou National Building Society, strongly criticised government's economic moves saying a mini-revival was the very last thing SA needed now.

Addressing the Western Transvaal AHI regional conference in Lichtenburg, he said government steps might lead to lower interest rates but an artificial revival would be too short to activate employment in a constructive way.

In addition it would lead to the decline of the surplus on the current account — something which should be jealously safeguarded.

"Political expediency rather than sound economic considerations appear to have led to the announcement of the steps," he said.

"This type of action indicates a lack of positive economic strategy."

Kuun said it was important that government should exercise the greatest judgment and care in doing the right thing at the right time, rather than allow day-to-day political and economic panic action with any indication of a constructive economic plan.

SA was in its deepest crisis since the Second World War and the business sector would rather see normal economic forces of supply and demand run their course so that sound foundations could be established on which growth could take place through the investment cycle.

Call To Include Blacks

GONE are the days of an abundance white artisans and of exploiting labour because workers could not get permits to work elsewhere, says AHI president Donald Masson.

He told the institute's Natal congress in Newcastle on Friday that blacks would have to be drawn increasingly into the free market system.

"There are not 4-million people in SA — there are 30-million, whether you like it or not, and those (other) 26-million will have to be included in the so-called free market system," he said.

— Masson called on the white business community to promote prosperity in the country and to stand by black businessmen who were facing the same kinds of problems.

Another speaker said that decentralisation boards' financial incentives to industrialists in these decentralised estates were not all they could be.

Turner & Newall Holdings chairman M C Pretorius said the positions chosen for these estates led to substantial increases in marketing, operational and recruitment costs which were not wholly covered by government hand-outs.

"Seldom, if ever, are markets near or in the developed regions. This is a factor which scares off industrialists — particularly if they perceive that their marketing function and even top management corps have to be separated from the factory," he said.

Regional Development Reviewed

THE concept of regional development is being reviewed by government which plans to publish a draft national strategy for public comment early next year.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis told the Natal congress of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut in Newcastle on Friday that the time had come to rationalise central government planning on regional development.

As part of this process, his own department had been restructured from September 1, and a new directorate created which would consolidate the 10-year-old National Physical Development Plan and the Regional Economic Development Programme into a single useable policy document.

This would appear for criticism and advice from interested parties during the first half of 1986 as the National Regional Development Plan.

"I want to give the assurance that this plan is not intended to force the various regions in specific directions," Heunis said.

SOUTH AFRICA

INVESTMENT IN CISKEI SOARS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 18 Oct 85 p 23

[Text]

BISHO. — Increased investment in Ciskei represented a vote of confidence in its future and in its non-discriminatory policies as a solution to the problems of Southern Africa, the Ciskei Minister of Finance, chief M E P Malafane, said yesterday.

He told a Press conference at which the annual report of the Ciskei People's Development Bank was released that, in spite of the depressed economy of Southern Africa, 36 new factories with a total value of R138,7-million had been attracted to Ciskei in the financial year to March.

This represented a potential 14 000 new jobs at an average cost per job of R8 200.

Investment by private enterprise increased by R48,7-million, bringing total private sector investment in industry to R124,4-million.

"At present 107 factories are operating in Ciskei. They represent a total investment of R245,2-million and provide 22 300 people with employment.

"Furthermore, 40 new factories to the value of R71,8-million are in the process of being built and are contractually committed to establishing themselves in Ciskei," Chief Malefane said.

International interest in Ciskei was increasing and, despite the "unfounded prejudices" of the international community and the worldwide disinvestment campaign against South Africa, none of the 46 overseas companies in Ciskei had shown any inclination to support these moves, Chief Malefane said.

He said two major European firms had committed themselves to a joint venture to establish a R6-million textile mill in Ciskei. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

DAIMLER GETS STAKE IN AEG

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Oct 85 p 19

[Text]

WEST BERLIN. — Daimler-Benz has announced it intends to take a stake of over 25 percent in AEG (Aktiengesellschaft), which has pledged to stay in South Africa.

A Daimler-Benz spokesman declined to say how big the stake would be but said Daimler would probably acquire it in several stages.

No confirmation was available from Daimler or AEG, which said it would issue a statement today, but the Frankfurt Bourse said AEG's shares were suspended from trading on Friday pending an announcement.

The AEG takeover would be the third major acquisition Daimler has made this year.

Mr Peter Klausner, executive director, consumer goods for AEG Telefunken, in South Africa said: "Despite the fact that certain foreign companies have closed their operations in South

Africa, AEG has no thought of pulling out.

"We have been represented in South Africa since 1898, we have survived a few major crises during this time and we are sure that we will weather the current storm.

"Our investment in South Africa is substantial. For many years our engineering division has been very heavily involved in contributing to the infrastructure in South Africa in terms of power generation, power supply, industrial systems and mine winders. We have substantial local production facilities and this will continue.

"South Africans have shown themselves to be discerning and discriminating buyers and the Made in Germany label has proved a winner.

"We have spent a long time building our market share and position in this country and we have no intention of giving it up" he said.

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

BOPHUTHATSWANA MAKING MILLIONS FROM CASINOS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 26 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Winnie Graham]

[Text]

BOPHUTHATSWANA earns R10,5m a year in gambling taxes, Finance Minister Leslie Young said in Mmabatho yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference to promote the sale of Bop Bonds, he said casinos provided a direct 1,5% of the country's annual income. They were also responsible for a considerable portion of Bophuthatswana's revenue because they attracted tourists who stayed in hotels and patronised restaurants.

Certain sources estimate about 14% of Bophuthatswana revenue is directly attributable to its casinos.

Young said virtually all the money from the sale of Bop Bonds would be spent on educational facilities. In the two years since the bonds had been introduced sales had increased by more than 300%. It seemed the target figure of R6m for 1985 would be achieved.

The Bophuthatswana government, criticised for its inadequate educational facilities, is making an all-out attempt to rectify the matter and is using the Bop Bond funds to build more schools.

Young said his government earned R60m in Paye taxation — 15% of the wage bill — last year.

"The recession has hit Bophuthatswana just as it has hit SA but though tourism has dropped we are not complaining," Young said. "We believe the rand-dollar exchange rate may yet benefit the hotel industry. Instead of going overseas, South Africans will have to start spending their money at home."

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

EXPORTS STRIPPING SA OF MACHINERY

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Cheryllyn Ireton]

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA is being stripped of millions of rands of capital assets as companies, desperate for cash, load their equipment and machinery onto the export market.

The latest losses, from the sale of aircraft, heavy plant and equipment are believed to exceed R200m. The replacement cost of these goods could be six times their present value.

Observers fear the long-term effects of the asset drain could delay an upswing in the economy since industry will not be able to afford to replace equipment at the current exchange rate.

"As capacity picks up and the need for plant and equipment is stimulated, industry could be faced with a huge replacement bill," says the chairman of the Federation of Civil Engineers, Con Roux.

Roux says most of the equipment attracting overseas buyers is heavy civil engineering plant, including graders and earthmovers.

The exchange rates have also boosted aircraft sales.

In the first half of 1985, 59 aircraft were exported — 10 fewer than in the whole of last year.

Customs and Excise estimates the value of aircraft exported between January 1984 and May 1985 to be more than R30m.

Added to that is the civil engineering sector's loss of more than R130m and smaller losses from the machine tools and materials handling industries.

But short of halting exports, government can do little to prevent the assets from leaving.

Roux says while the private sector is having to "give away" equipment, government is still importing plant and ma-

CAPITAL ASSETS LEAVING
SOUTH AFRICA

AIRCRAFT	
Jan-Dec 1984	R19,5m
Jan-May 1985	R11,8m
Source: DEPT. OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE	
HEAVY PLANT EQUIPMENT	
Dec 1984	R100m
Sept 1985	R130m
Expected replacement value ...	R500m
Source: FEDERATION OF CIVIL ENGINEERS	

chinery for its civil engineering works.

"As a result, we have had to urge government to freeze all imports and to use the local surplus instead."

The industry has lost 30% of its workforce in the last two years and wants to take over government contracts, which represent 70% of available work.

Deputy Finance Director Gerhard Croeser says local and provincial authorities have been asked to buy up local equipment, where possible.

Federated Chamber of Industries economist Jan de Lange says: "If the cash is used judiciously, it could be a wise decision to sell. Plant and equipment are not irreplaceable."

Imports of more sophisticated equipment could make the country more productive, he adds.

Under-utilised capacity, the drop in demand for goods, the shortage of cash and big profits on overseas deals due to the exchange rates seem to be the main reasons behind the surge in exports.

JPRS•SSA•85•109
7 November 1985

'URGE TO ACHIEVE' LACKING IN SA, MAREE CLAIMS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Oct 85 p 22

[Text]

ONLY about three percent of the South African population had the urge to achieve compared with about 15 percent in Western and developed countries, the chairman of Escom, Mr John Maree said.

Mr Maree who was speaking at a function of the SA Institute of Building said that it was because of this factor that Africa declined economically after the war and that the same was happening in South Africa.

"Already poverty is becoming a way of life for many in this country and the situation will become worse even with a normal economic growth rate."

South Africa too had less managers and entrepreneurs per capita than any other developed nation and these groups were largely drawn from the White sector which was not growing fast enough to meet the needs of the country, Mr Maree said.

To overcome this problem, Mr Maree feels that the talented and potential achievers among the Black population groups should be identified and that Black education should be upgraded.

As there are too many academically trained people in the country he feels that the government should subsidise only those disciplines which are essential for the growth of the country.

"The country can no longer afford heavy subsidies for studies in fields for which there is little need. There are too many people at university who should instead be at technicians."

He points out that it is a mistake to try to fit a Black man into a White man's mould and that business methods should be adapted to recognise the African culture and to fit into the general South African situation.

"Only if we mobilise the potential of all our people and use every drop of skill and talent will we be able to unlock the vast potential of South Africa," Mr Maree said.

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

CISKEI HOSTS TWENTY NEW FACTORIES

Johannesburg SA MANUFACTURING WORLD in English Aug 85 p 3

[Text]

Twenty new industries, representing a total investment of over R25m, have been established in Ciskei since January this year.

The industries, many attracted from overseas, will provide nearly 2900 employment opportunities when in full production, according to a statement from the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank.

They bring the total number of industries attracted to Ciskei to almost 150. Of these, 52 are currently being designed or being built.

Mr **Frans Meisenholl**, Managing Director of the CPDB, said that the 20 new factories that came into production this year came from South Africa, Hong Kong, Israel, Taiwan, the United States, Britain and Germany.

"The factories represent a total investment of R25 032 032 and will provide 2872 jobs when in full production. They have been built in Dimbaza and Fort Jackson and include textile, electronic, galvanising, veterinary vaccines and surfboard and paddle ski manufacturing industries," he said.

The largest factory built represented an investment of almost R3.5m. The biggest employer would provide about 460 jobs when the factory was in full production.

Meisenholl said that scores of enquiries into Ciskei's new tax haven status have been received from potential investors since legislation abolishing company tax was introduced in March this year.

The interest from investors investigating the feasibility of establishing manufacturing, commercial and other ventures in the Ciskei have been most encouraging. Over 20 of the enquiries received recently have developed into formal applications and are being followed up.

"It is also interesting to see, that whereas in the past most of the applications were to establish industries, a large number of enquiries now are related to commercial and other types of investments. This, I believe," said Mr Meisenholl, "is a direct result of the abolition of company tax."

"A number of industries", according to Meisenholl, "including existing factories receiving decentralisation benefits, had indicated that the intended opting for the company tax free status. Some of these were multi-national companies", he said.

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

'PRAGMATIC' APPROACH URGED BY SEIFSA CHIEF

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 Oct 85 p 27

[Text]

A CALL to the Government to move away from economic policies based on "text book theory" and adopt a more pragmatic approach aimed at stimulating economic growth was made yesterday.

Addressing the annual general meeting of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa) in Johannesburg yesterday the Federation's President, Mr F P Kotzee, said: "While nobody can argue with the Government's objective of strengthening market forces, both the timing and the manner in which such changes have been made have tended to damage confidence in the manufacturing sector rather than promote it."

Measures which the Government should apply to stimulate growth were:

- Reduce taxation levels as an incentive to create wealth.
- Implement the already

accepted recommendations of the Van der Horst committee of inquiry into the application of industrial protection policy, particularly in respect of the board of trade and industries.

"A restructured board has an important contribution to make in restoring confidence in the manufacturing sector."

- By tackling the shortage of qualified personnel more aggressively.

- By reducing the size of the civil service by embarking on a programme of privatisation on a wide front.

- By dismantling the widespread over-regulation that currently exists.

Mr Kotzee also said there appeared to be a lack of commitment by the Government to address current social security needs on a co-ordinated basis.

"The unemployment insurance board has submitted recommendations on the future of the unemployment insurance

fund, a joint Parliamentary committee is investigating the sensitive pensions area, the HSRC is conducting an investigation into affordable social security, funds allocated in the Budget to combat unemployment are channelled through different government departments and little or nothing is being done to contain escalating medical expenses," he said.

"There is a vital need for a co-ordinated approach in this area and the fragmented allocation of responsibilities between a variety of government departments needs to be reviewed."

He described the escalating pressure on South Africa from overseas as both unfair and detrimental to the process of change.

"Agents of reform find it increasingly difficult, if not virtually impossible, to make progress in circumstances of confrontation and declining economic conditions."

SOUTH AFRICA

IMPORTANCE OF MULTINATIONALS NOTED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 23 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by Peter Wallington]

[Text]

UP TO 1.7-million people would be directly affected if transnational corporations pulled out of South Africa, says an interim report on the role of such corporations.

The report, commissioned by the South Africa Foundation and compiled by the Bureau of Market Research (BMR) at the University of South Africa, says many thousands more would be affected indirectly.

The final report is expected next May.

According to the UN, at most 315 000 blacks are employed by multinational corporations. Accepting this as correct, the report says the figure represents 16% of the black work force in mining, manufacturing, construction, wholesale and retail trade and banking.

"There can be no doubt, therefore, that transnational corporations play a major role in the SA economy, and in some industries their role may even be a dominant one," the report says.

A 1984 BMR report showed that only 30.9% of the total real personal income added in the period 1960-1965 went to coloureds, Asians and blacks. From 1975 to 1980 the percentage soared to 79.8%.

Indications are that this trend continued after 1980.

The real average increases in wages paid by Sullivan Code signatories were higher in most years than the national average.

Transnational corporations made positive contributions in other areas:

□ A SA Foundation survey of 18 transnational and 19 local corporations found that in 1980 transnationals spent R122,59 for housing for each black worker. This rose to R281,87 in 1984 — an increase of almost 10% a year in real terms.

□ Transnationals spent an average of R385,60 on training schemes for black staff in 1984, an increase of 289% since 1980.

□ Only 1% of the black staff employed in 1980 occupied supervisory and managerial positions in 1980. The figure had risen to 2.8% by this year, with transnationals leading the way with 3.3%.

□ Transnationals spent R4.4m on community projects in 1984, up from R1.4m in 1980.

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

FARMERS FACE 'CRITICAL' FINANCIAL CRISIS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 25 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by Linda Ensor]

[Text]

THE WEATHER has been kinder to farmers this year, but their financial plight remains as critical as ever. Production levels, while higher in some sectors than last year, continue to be below average.

In no sense can farmers be said to have lifted themselves out of the crippling circumstances of previous drought-stricken years, says Dries Davel, senior economist for the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU). They continue to be plagued by soaring interest rates, static prices and exorbitant input costs.

By June, the combined price index for agricultural inputs — including capital goods — had risen 13,3% over the previous 1983-84 year. Fertiliser went up 25,1% in the period, fuel 7,7%, stockfeed 9% and tractors 21,9%.

Gross agricultural income increased 24,3%, from R7 570m to R9 417m, in the 1984-85 year. However, income for agriculture as a whole was not sufficient to finance the debt burden, which stood at R9 495m in December last year.

Interest payments on the debt have sapped a total of R4 297m out of agricultural resources since July 1981 — R1 475m in the 1984-85 year.

The weak rand has benefited the export sector, and foreign exchange earnings of about R1 907m for this year — projected in February — should help offset the massive rise anticipated in the import costs of agricultural goods.

Maize and grain sorghum farmers, who have been hardest hit by the drought, have seen increased production levels, while wool and mohair farmers are experiencing an unprecedented boom.

Estimated maize production for the 1984-85 year is up 72% on the previous year, while grain sorghum production has soared by 200 000-tons.

Maize output for the 1984-85 season — expected to be 7,4-million tons compared to last year's 4-million tons — signals the first rise since the bumper 1981-82 crop of 8,4-million tons.

SA will not have to spend millions importing maize this year. Instead, about 800 000-tons should be available for export. Last year R900 m was spent on importing maize and maize products. In 1983 the cost was R209m. The average annual target is about 10-million tons, with annual consumption in the region of 6,5-million tons.

This year's producer prices of white and yellow maize — R218,60 a ton and R214,65 a ton respectively — are a 5c increase over last year's prices. The government refused an increase to R260 a ton asked for by the National Maize Producers' Organisation (Nampo), and the conflict which led to the resignation of eight Nampo members from the Maize Board remains unresolved.

Maize farmers, whose security has been eroded by successive crop failures, could face problems obtaining production credit this coming season, says Davel. He doubts whether those who have had three to four consecutive crop failures will be financially accommodated. Davel estimates that between R850m and R900m in production credit will be required by farmers in the summer grain areas.

Nampo secretary Tobie Lombard says 68 Eastern Transvaal farmers have already been refused finance for planting — due to start in mid-October.

Grain sorghum production for 1985-86 is estimated to reach 641 000-tons, about 200 000 more than last year's 435 000-tons. About 250 000-tons a year are used for beer and a large part of the remainder for animal feed.

Moneywise, wool and mohair farmers are sitting pretty. Real income of wool farmers rose by 25% in 1984-85 while gross earnings for wool totalled a record R403m for the year ending June.

Mohair farmers, who export their entire production, expect a financial shot in the arm from the exchange rate and increased international demand. Annual in-

come has been provisionally projected at about R170m from an expected clip of 9,25-million kg this year compared to last year's R125,9m for 8,1-million kg.

Overseas demand for fine SA wool — about 85% of the crop is exported — remains good and export earnings of R400m were brought in in 1984-85. Apart from a decline in wool production for the year ending June 30 this year — to 98-million kg from last year's 101,6-million kg — wool farming is pretty stable, says Joe Strydom, acting MD of the Wool Board.

Mohair prices are up, with the average price for the winter selling season which has just begun settling at R21,33 per kg for all types of mohair. The average price for the first six months was R19,63. This is a fairly high rise over last year's average of R14,28 for the first half and R16,79 for the second.

Wheat production for the coming 1985-86 season is projected at 2,03-million tons, compared to the 1984-85 season level of 2,176-million tons. The 1984 crop of 2,215-million tons generated a gross income of R643,6m, while the 1983 crop of 1,76-million tons brought in R476m.

Andries Liebenberg, chairman of the Wheat Board, says the board expects a slight decline because of the severe drought conditions in the Free State. Wheat production has been unstable for a number of years and farmers need a price incentive to increase it, Liebenberg feels.

New wheat prices are expected to be announced at the end of this month and Liebenberg says farmers can expect an increase

well below the inflation rate. The last increase in 1984 raised the price 8,7% from R275 a ton — where it had been for two years — to R299 a ton.

Louis Kriel, GM of the Deciduous Fruit Board, expects an all-time record of R470m in gross export earnings from deciduous fruit this year. While export volumes are expected to drop to 306 000-tons in 1984-85 from the previous 316 000-tons, earnings have been aided by the exchange rate.

Estimates of total production for deciduous fruit for the 1984-85 year stand at 450 000-tons — just about the same as the previous year.

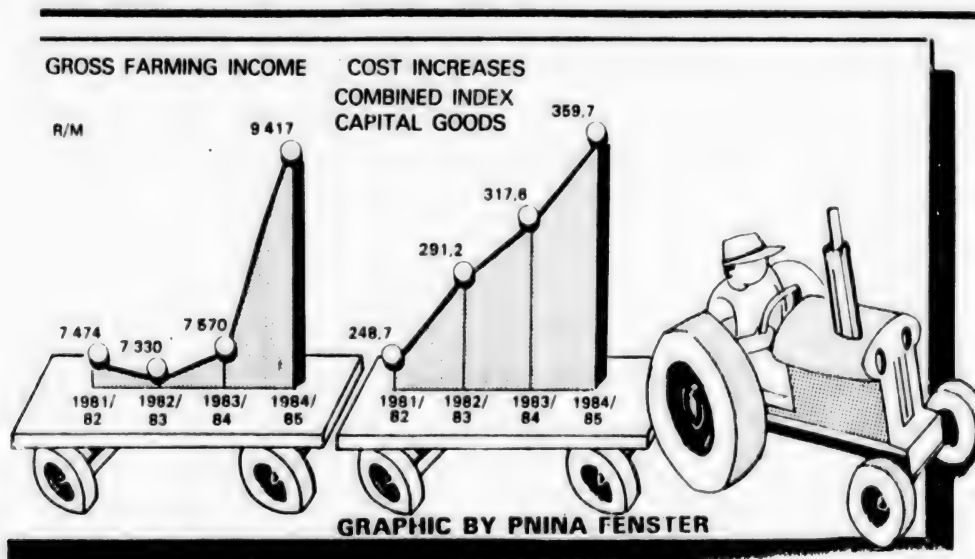
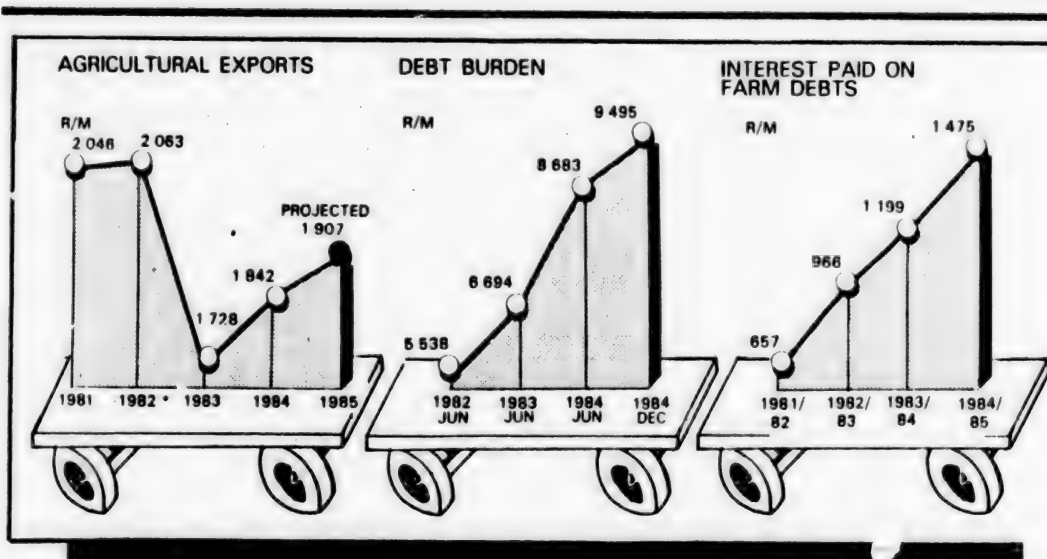
A record crop for grapes has been estimated, while pear farmers expect their crop to be exceeded only by the record year of 1983. The apple crop was down compared to last year. "It has been a good season, overall," says Kriel.

While cotton production increased, the total number of bales picked fell short of the target considering the number of hectares planted, says Cotton Board manager Johan Gillen.

An estimated 219 000-bales were picked compared to the 179 000-bales picked in the 1983-84 season. Consumption is estimated at 300 000 to 310 000-bales.

The final negotiated price for cotton is R2,95c a kg over last year's R2,90 — a 1,6% increase. Gillen suspects levies may absorb the increase, leaving farmers with nothing to offset inflation.

Tobacco production showed a very slight decline this year due to the drought and substantial hail damage.



CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

FARMERS SEEK PERMIT TO BUILD ETHANOL PLANT

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 8 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

NATAL farmers have applied to government for permission to build an ethanol plant which, they claim, would produce vastly cheaper motor fuel.

The farmers will be meeting Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Danie Steyn this month.

According to a special report by a chemical technologist, who was sent to the International Conference on Sugar and Ethanol in Brazil, ethanol could be produced from sugar cane at a cost of 37,5c/l. Ethanol from maize cost 38c/l but the simultaneous production of valuable animal feed reduced the cost to 14,5c/l.

Paddock farmers are so confident of the project that 100 have pledged an average of R2 500 each to build a plant which would produce 5 000 litres of ethanol a day.

The project is particularly suitable for Natal because of the high yields per hectare. Farmers want to build a private plant on a co-operative basis and want to use the fuel to cut the cost of producing food. At this stage there are no plans to market it commercially.

The Minister of Energy Affairs will be asked for permission to build the plant. Farmers also want to be exempt from levies and taxes and have asked that excise restrictions in respect of small farm distillation units be modified.

They also want alcohol engines free of import duty in the short term.

Ethanol has the advantage of being cleaner-burning than petroleum fuels and does not contain lead.

Said one farmer: "South Africa has the technical expertise to produce ethanol, after all, Natal produced union spirits as motor fuel some years ago. We have researched the matter very thoroughly and are convinced that there will be no problems except opposition from fuel companies."

He added: "We have the support of farmers and the money to build a viable plant. All we now need is permission from government." — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

GFC CONTRACT FOR MAJUBA DEVELOPMENT REPORTED

Johannesburg ENGINEERING WEEK in English 26 Sep 85 p 29

[Text]

GFC Mining has been awarded the R18,6-million contract for initial shaft-sinking and development at Rand Mines' Majuba Colliery.

The Majuba Colliery will supply fuel for the 3 942-MW Majuba Power Station and the first of six sets is scheduled to be commissioned in 1991.

The contract will involve sinking a 300 m deep × 8,5 m diameter ventilation shaft, a 315 m deep × 11 m diameter service shaft and a 1 450 m long conveyor incline at 16°.

The project commences this month and is scheduled for completion in October 1987.

This will be Rand Mines' third Escorn-tied Colliery — the first being Duvha, which now supplies 10-million t/year for the 3 600-MW power station.

The company is also developing the Khutala Col-

liery which, at full production, will supply 12,2-million t/annum to the new Kendal Power Station, which is to generate 4 032 MW.

The first set is scheduled to be commissioned in June 1988.

GFC has, to date, concluded the current equivalent of R60-million worth of contracts in the South African coal mining industry, the major portion being for Gencor and Sasol.

The R30-million Matla contract involved development of nine shafts and headgear between 1976 and 1982.

The R20-million Sasol contracts involved construction of four suites of concrete-lined shafts, the construction of a mid-shaft station at Sigma Colliery in 1982 and construction of a long-wall bunker shaft as well as excavation and support at Sigma in 1983.

CSO: 3400/198

NEW LIFE FOR MSAULI MINE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Oct 85 p 16

[Article by Stan Kennedy]

[Text]

When completed in November, the new sub-vertical shaft at Msauli asbestos mine will provide access to ore currently locked up in pillars and deep-level orebodies and will ensure that the mine has a long-term ore supply.

It will eliminate the need for the four sub-vertical incline shafts being used to hoist ore and, at the same time, contain ore-handling costs.

Msauli fibre is highly prized for its consistent quality and indications are that demand will be high for many years. Sales volumes are expected to increase as the mine continues to supply its traditional markets in Japan, Korea and Taiwan, while developing new markets.

A year ago, the future was not so bright. Msauli had major problems to overcome after cyclone Domoina flooded the mine and halted production for 23 days.

For some time after, mining operations continued to be hampered by the side effects of the flood. There was a shortage of working faces, shafts were overloaded and total production for 1984 was substantially short of potential market demand.

Now, with an increased capital expenditure programme and after much reparation work underground, further development projects are being investigated. These include a tertiary sub-vertical shaft to exploit even deeper levels, as well as further mill improvements and additions.

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

ISCOR PLANS TO BOOST EXPORTS REPORTED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 1 Oct 85 p 4

[Text]

THE value of Iscor's steel exports will rise by 28,6% to nearly R1,2bn for the current financial year, according to Nols Olivier, the corporation's senior general manager (steel).

Iscor's aim, he said in Pretoria yesterday, was to raise exports this year to 47% of total production.

In the year to June exports were expected to earn about R900m compared with R490m the previous year — an increase of 83,7%.

Earnings could be even higher when the effect of the weak rand was taken into account, he said.

Olivier said steel exports increased from 1,3-million tons for the year to June, 1984, to 2,1-million tons for the same period this year.

Because of depressed domestic conditions the sale of steel locally dropped sharply from 3,2-million tons in the 1983/84 year to 2,8-million tons this year.

Steel sales dropped in the first quarter of the year compared with

the same period last year — in the motor industry by 79%, white goods by 75%, the SA Transport Services by 39% and heavy engineering by 25%.

Olivier was pessimistic about the outlook for domestic turnovers next year.

However, he said indications were that demand would remain fairly constant.

Referring to two second-hand electric arc furnaces bought by Iscor in Britain for R90m, Olivier said the rand was worth \$0,70 at the time "so the timing of the purchase was favourable".

Olivier said a major reason for buying the furnaces had been to reduce pollution because older furnaces were a serious pollution problem.

Another reason for the purchase was that production of heavy profile steel by Iscor and the private sector had been in excess of local demand.

Potential production had now been reduced from 1,5-million tons to 900 000 tons, Olivier said.

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

NUCLEAR MAGNETIC RESONANCE FACILITY UNVEILED

Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 4 Oct 85 p 9

[Article by Chris Erasmus]

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA moved into a new age of medicine yesterday with the official unveiling of the Medical Research Council's Nuclear Magnetic Resonance Facility.

The Israeli-built device is capable of producing extremely clear images of the interior of any part of the human body using radio waves emitted by the body when exposed to a powerful magnetic field.

The pictures produced by the nuclear magnetic imager reveal not only anatomical details, similar to X-rays, but also biochemical information, making them extremely useful in the early detection of diseases, especially those that affect the brain, spinal cord, heart and the vascular system.

Unlike X-rays, however, NMR imaging does not damage tissues and is therefore much safer.

The R4-million machine, which was acquired by the MRC at a bargain price of about R1,2-million, has been sited at the MRC's Tygerberg headquarters and has already been used "very successfully" on a local patient, according to the NMR facility's director, Dr S A R Wynchank.

Opening the facility, Professor Karl Tober, Vice Chancellor and Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand, said the most important aspects of the NMR imager were its ability to recognize chemical compounds rapidly and non-invasively while recording how the amounts of these chemicals differed from one moment to another.

There was no need for blood or tissues samples, nor were chemical analyses required, and results were available in seconds.

Professor Andries Brink, president of the MRC, said NMR imaging was "the most exciting development since the introduction of X-rays and is of the greatest importance to South African medical care and research".

The diagnostic procedure -- which is dangerous only to carriers of pacemakers -- takes place with the patient placed on a bed which slides into a large magnet that produces a field 10 000 times as strong as the Earth's.

Weak radio waves are then directed at the patient, exciting and moving the protons in the patient's tissues. When the radio waves are switched off, the protons go back to their old positions, producing their own radio waves in turn, which are detected and used by a powerful computer to build an internal picture of the patient.

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

ORE EXPORTS ACCELERATE AS UNREST FUELS FEARS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 25 Sep 85 p 10

[Text]

MANGANESE ore shipments to Europe have accelerated in the past three months reportedly on fears that South African supplies could be affected by unrest or by counteraction to sanctions.

The fears are officially thought locally and in Europe to be baseless. However, two shipments of ore totaling 100 000 tons — beyond normal contract shipments — left Port Elizabeth for Europe in the first 10 days of September and similar shipments each of 50 000 tons were made in August and July.

Commenting on these exports the authoritative London Metal Bulletin says: "The increasing unrest in South Africa appears to have woken bulk ores markets from their slumbers. Volume is reportedly sharply up and indications for the immediate future are said to be encouraging as consumers inquire as to the advisability of securing forward supplies.

"There are some indications of special efforts being made to get material out of South Africa as quickly as possible to negate the threat of possible supply disruption.

"However, the probable recipient of one of these cargoes, a prominent European consumer, said the decision was a one-off and was not a change of practice."

A German importer of another cargo also denies that the purchase is anything but normal.

Metal Bulletin comments that persistent political unrest would clearly encourage consumers to secure supplies well forward, regardless of the high costs of holding inventory.

It says South African suppliers are reported to be carrying larger-than-usual inventories in the US and consumer stock levels are also said to be increasing there.

"The bulk ores and alloys section would be extremely vulnerable to any extended disruption of South African supplies which might result from retaliatory reaction to economic sanctions or escalating internal turmoil," says the *Metal Bulletin*.

"South Africa is ranked first or second in the world among chrome and manganese ore, ferro-chrome and ferro-manganese exporters.

"Its prolonged absence from the market would leave a huge gap."

Latest Minerals Bureau figures on South African chrome ore exports are for May showing an increase in value to R7,19m compared with R4,2m in May last year. Production also rose to 276 732 tons (241 588 tons).

Manganese ore exports rose to R9,6m (R6,7m) with production at 285 205 tons (253 633 tons).

CSO: 3400/198

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

SADB LOAN--A R23-m loan agreement has been signed between the Development Bank of SA and the Bophuthatswana government for the development of the Odi Manpower Centre. The centre will accommodate 500 full-time students, as well as part-time students and the unemployed. [Text] [Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 6 Oct 85 p 4]

ALIENS ACT DISCRIMINATORY PROVISIONS REMOVED--Discriminatory provisions in the Aliens Act of 1937 will be removed next year. The Act states that immigrants must be readily assimilable within the European community. This clause is to be replaced by one stating that prospective immigrants will--within a reasonable period after entry--become assimilated with one or other of the existing communities in SA. This was announced by Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, who said: "The effect of this amendment will be to remove any differentiation based on race or colour." The immigration selection board will be able to consider applications from all prospective immigrants irrespective of race or colour. [Text] [Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 6 Oct 85 p 4]

DR ORR BACKED BY HUNDREDS--More than 250 prominent women came out in support this week of young PE District Surgeon Dr Wendy Orr for testifying in court about widespread torture in detention. The list includes magazine editors, trade unionists, Women for Peace members, academics and wives of prominent politicians and leading businessmen. The statement, headed "Dr Orr and The End of Apartheid," said: "As concerned women we wish to support Dr Wendy Orr for her courage and initiative in obtaining the evidence which led to a Supreme Court order restraining police from assaulting detainees in PE. "The same concern leads us to call for the release of all detainees; an end to detention without trial; an end to statutory race discrimination; the establishment of a just social order in which all the inhabitants of SA will enjoy the Rule of Law." Some of the women who signed the statement include Bridget Oppenheimer, wife of mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer, True Love editor Pearl Luthuli, Betty Luyt, wife of former UCT principal Sir Richard Luyt, trade unionist Lucy Mvubelo and Audrey Coleman of the Black Sash and DPSC. [Text] [Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 6 Oct 85 p 2]

CSO: 3400/195

UGANDA

LONRHO'S CONNECTION WITH MUSEVENI

Harare THE HERALD in English 9 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Colin Legum]

[Text]

LONDON.

YOWERI Museveni, the young militarist who is making a strong bid for power in Uganda, has been flown to a number of African capitals in a private executive jet supplied by "Tiny" Rowland's London-based multinational, Lonrho.

The most plausible explanation for this connection between Mr Museveni and Mr Rowland is that the latter, who already has a small stake in Uganda, is naturally keen to assist the efforts which his close friend, Kenya's President Daniel Moi, is currently making to get the opponents of ousted President Milton Obote to agree to join in a national government.

Mr Museveni has needed considerable persuasion to enter into talks with the new Military Council in Kampala — most of whom were closely associated with President Obote until they conspired to overthrow him.

At the time of the Obote overthrow, Mr Museveni had been living in Sweden with his wife and family for three months, and not in the bush with the remnants of his National Resistance Army (NRA).

President Moi was keen to get Mr Museveni to Nairobi to enter into negotiations with General Tito Okello's new military regime. Whatever might have passed between President Moi and Mr Rowland (they are in regular, close contact) the upshot of their consultations was Lonrho's agreement to provide one of the company's planes to bring Mr Museveni to Nairobi and, subsequently, to fly him for talks to Maputo, Lusaka and Dar es Salaam.

Apart from Mr Rowland's wish to help his friend, President Moi, and his natural business desire to see a semblance of security restored to Uganda, he is known to be interested in acquiring a number of important interests in the country and would naturally wish to stand in well with whoever finally emerges as the country's new leader.

Among Mr Rowland's known interests in Uganda are the right to construct a new oil pipeline from Mombasa to Kampala; the rights to the still defunct Kileleshwa copper and cobalt mine; and a role in marketing Uganda's important coffee production.

UNDECIDED

However, in the still highly fluid situation in Uganda, with the struggle for political power still undecided, Mr Rowland has been careful not to injure his relations with Gen Okello's regime.

He prides himself on his skill in handling African politicians, with whom, on the whole, he gets on extremely well. Nevertheless he has not always been clever or fortunate, in his choice of business and political associates.

In Sudan he stood loyally behind President Jaafar Nimeiri right up to the time of his fall earlier this year. He then sought to act as mediator between the new military regime in Khartoum and the rebel leader, John Garang, with whom he has managed to establish some kind of rapport.

During the Zimbabwean struggle he helped to backroll Zanu, but turned the party's leadership out at short notice from one of the hotels he owns in London after Zanu (PF)'s victory. Having backed the wrong horse in Zimbabwe, Mr Rowland was left with the problem of gaining the confidence of Zanu (PF)'s Government.

One of Mr Rowland's undoubted triumphs has been his success in protecting Lonrho's important stake in the Ashanti goldfields of Ghana. He is as well in today with President Jerry Rawlings as he was with the far less radical leaders who preceded him.

Tiny Rowland's golden principle has been to ignore the political colouration of those he regards as useful to Lonrho's business. This approach has led him in recent months to begin business talks with Mozambique's socialist President Samora Machel.

Meanwhile, the talks in Nairobi between Mr Museveni and the Military Council, which have gone on intermittently over the past two months, still show little sign of succeeding; but with each passing week the country has been drifting closer to a state of full-scale civil war.

Mr Museveni has cleverly used this prolonged period of negotiations to strengthen his own

military position. In the event of the talks failing, this would enable him to resume the shooting war he had unsuccessfully but expensively (in terms of human life and the waste of precious economic resources) conducted against the Obote government for almost five years. On the other hand, if he should succeed in using his military threat to extract the political price he is demanding for ending the fighting and joining in a coalition government he would be able to operate within it from a position of strength. Either way, he is determined to come out on top as the new strong man of Uganda.

In the first year after Amin's overthrow in 1979, Mr Museveni held several important government posts. While acting as Defence Minister he used his position to recruit and build up a force personally loyal to himself within the national army.

His manoeuvres inside the post-Amin interim government led to his quarrelling with all the other party leaders.

Nevertheless Mr Museveni's undoubted charisma and ability appealed to many of the younger and more outstanding Ugandans who joined him in forming the National Resistance Party (NRP).

LOST DEPOSITS

They fielded 44 candidates in the elections of December 1980, but succeeded in winning only one seat. Mr Museveni was among the many NRP candidates who lost their deposits. As he was defeated by the opposition Democratic Party, he cannot reasonably put the blame, as he does, on poll-rigging by Mr Obote's ruling party.

In the present unsettled situation in Uganda it is not impossible that Mr Museveni will one day emerge on top; but if he does it will not be as a result of winning power through the ballot box. It will be either because of his successful political manoeuvring among the elites within the shaky new political system still being evolved, or through the barrel of a gun.

UGANDA

UNLF HAS URGED GOVERNMENT TO RESIGN

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 10 Sep 85 pp 1, 3, 6

[Text]

THE Uganda national liberation Front (UNLF) has vigorously returned to Uganda's political scene with a bitter attack on ruling military council, the Democratic Party (DP) and the National Resistance Army (NRA) of Yoweri Museveni.

In a surprise move the UNLF has called upon the military council and its cabinet to resign so as pave way for a Round table conference. The front also urged the NRA to stop demanding power sharing on the military council and should instead support the democratic demand for a round table conference of all political parties and organisations on the basis of democratic equality.

The front categorically stressed that UNLA and NRA have no right to impose a solution on the country. It urged that the question of reorganising the army is not a question of UNLA and

NRA to determine, but can only be resolved to the satisfaction of all democratic forces in Uganda within the framework of the proposed Round table conference.

In a Press statement issued in Kampala the Secretary of the front's Joint Interim National Council (JINC) Mr. P. Isingoma solemnly called on the two armies and the

various political forces to readdress themselves democratic process in order to save our country from dismemberment, and endless suffering that accompany fratricidal wars.

Mr. Isingoma noted that it is becoming increasingly clear that only through a Round table conference can civil war be averted on such burning issues as a provisional government of national unity, re-organisation of the army, a programme of democratic free and fair elections etc.

"The UNLF (A-D) notes with grave concern the various manoeuvres which have been going on in name of peace talks purportedly aimed at resolving the current crisis in our country Uganda", he added.

The UNLF executive further accused the UNLA and NRA of preparing another round of factional war. He explained this by what he called the relative expansion of the UNLA by indiscriminately recruiting even "the worst elements of former dictator Idi Amin's army in order to contain and destroy NRA".

Mr. Isingoma added that partly in response to this development, the NRA has reportedly stepped up its recruitment, training and procurement of armaments.

He alleged that the people of Uganda were getting disillusioned as they see their hopes for an opportunity to work out a democratic and lasting peace after the fall

of Obote's clique being dashed day by day.

He ended by reiterating UNLF position that the current crisis in Uganda can only be resolved in its position paper of March 1981, and Cardinal Nsubuga's proposal for a Round table conference.

In an earlier statement signed by E.B. Rugumayo as Chairman and D.W. Nabudere as Secretary for the Political and Administrative Commission the UNLF attacked the DP for what they called having accepted Obote's dictatorship as a loyal opposition and the party's recent joining of hands with the military council.

They further attacked NRA boss Yoweri Museveni for having been the Vice Chairman of the Military Commission which overthrew the UNLF which they said had worked out a programme of democratic election.

The UNLF bosses attacked Mzee Paul Muwanga

for having overthrown the UNLF government, condemned his appointment as Prime Minister for he was Obote's Vice President and Minister of Defence.

They also accused the UNLA of having been part and parcel of the repression in the country during the Obote era.

Mr. Rugumayo and Nabudere were Senior members of the UNLF governments of Prof. Lule and Godfrey Binaisa which had their roots in the Moshi Unity conference with the overthrow of dictator Idi Amin in 1979.

It should be recalled that the Uganda National Army (UNLA) which is the ruling team of Uganda was the fighting force of Uganda National Front (UNLF).

However it is not known whether the coming back of the UNLF and asking its army to resign will mean taking over the responsibility of the UNLA.

UGANDA

NEW COMMERCIAL BANK OPENED

Kampala WEEKLY FOCUS in English 4 Sep 85 pp 3, 4

[Text]

The first Bank to be established by indigenous Ugandans has opened in Kampala.

The Gold Trust Bank, which is going to be a clearing institution was opened last month on the first floor of the IPS building on Parliamentary Avenue, Kampala.

Speaking to "FOCUS" yesterday, an Assistant Manager of the Bank, Mr. Mohammed Kisoro Suna said the bank will carry out the normal services of a commercial Bank like savings current accounts.

Talking about the objectives of initiating such a banking institution, the banking executive stressed that there is a need for more banks of

that nature if Uganda is to be effectively rehabilitated and reconstructed.

He noted that the development of Uganda's economy might be hampered because the country has only nine Commercial Banks as compared to Kenya which has about 50.

Mr. Kisoro Suna also spelled out the need for competition in the banking industry which he stressed will help to improve the quality of services to the public by banking institutions.

Thus he emphasized that the Gold Trust Bank project was initiated in 1979 as a response to government and people's demand for more banking institutions in the country.

He disclosed that the bank had begun in a humble way with 20 workers but within a week of operation it now has about 100 customers which he attributed to the bank's high quality of service.

The Bank intends to open a branch in Mbarara as soon as it is possible. It is already embarking on the construction of a building which will house its headquarters on Kampala Road.

Before the opening of this bank Uganda had been dominated by foreign banks with their headquarters in foreign capitals. They include Barclays Bank, Grindlays Bank, Libya Bank and the Standard Bank.

CSO: 3400/200

ZIMBABWE

SENATE TO BE ABOLISHED WHEN NEW PARLIAMENT IS BUILT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Oct 85 p 12

[Text] Bulawayo--Zimbabwe is to abolish the 30-member Senate, an upper house in Parliament that routinely rubber stamps legislation passed by the National Assembly, House Speaker, Mr Didymus Mutasa said in an interview published yesterday.

A new R165-million House of Parliament to be built on a hill overlooking the capital of Harare will not include room for a senate, the Speaker said.

Mr Mutasa said the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe's government had wanted to scrap the upper house from the time it was first included in a British-drafted constitution.

Mr Mugabe, Opposition leader Mr Joshua Nkomo and the former prime minister Bishop Abel Muzorewa signed a constitutional agreement, including the provision for a senate, at peace talks organised by Britain to end seven years of guerilla war and pave the [words illegible]

"It was imposed on us in the same manner we accepted the constitution--tongue in cheek," Mr Mutasa told the newspaper.

He said the new House of Parliament would take about four years to build. Constitutional changes cannot be made without a majority vote in Parliament until 1990.--Sapa-AP

CSO: 3400/190

ZIMBABWE

BOSSSES CANNOT PAY MINIMUM WAGE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 Oct 85 p 8

[Text]

HARARE. — The Zimbabwean Deputy Labour Minister, Mr Alexio Mudzingwa, said yesterday only 1 000 workers out of 20 000 employed in agriculture-related industries in the country were paid the new minimum wage of 144 dollars (about R230) a month.

Mr Mudzingwa, addressing a meeting in Harare, said many employers, including the Ministry of Agriculture, had indicated they could not afford to pay the wage, increased by 15

percent and effective from last July.

About 10 000 employees of farms and tree plantations, mainly in eastern Manicaland province, are threatened with losing their jobs because employers say the new salaries are too high.

Mr Mudzingwa said there was an urgent need to resolve the wage dispute and the Agriculture Ministry would soon go back to Treasury to ask for more money to meet the new salaries of its agricultural workers. — Sapa-Reuter.

CSO: 3400/190

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